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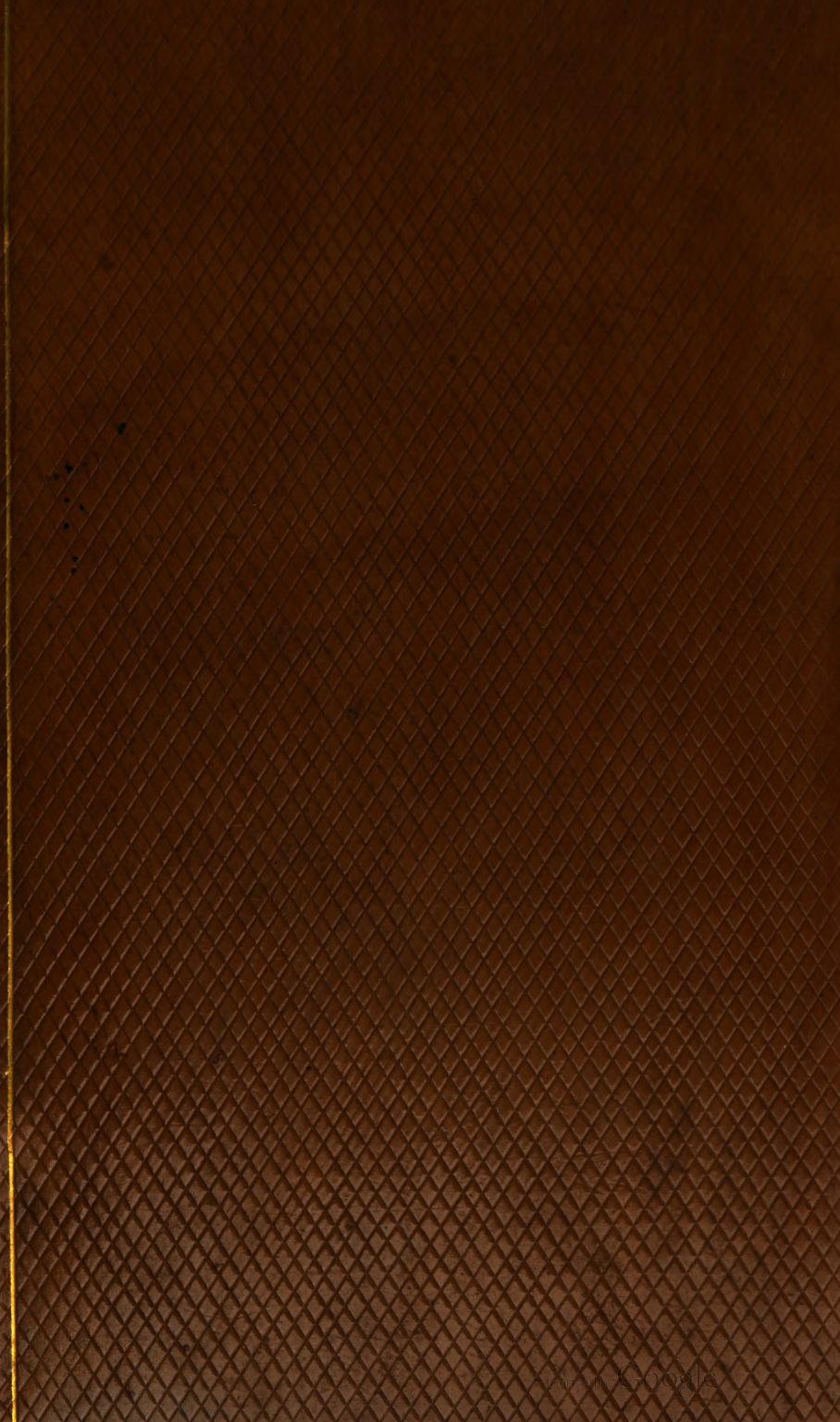
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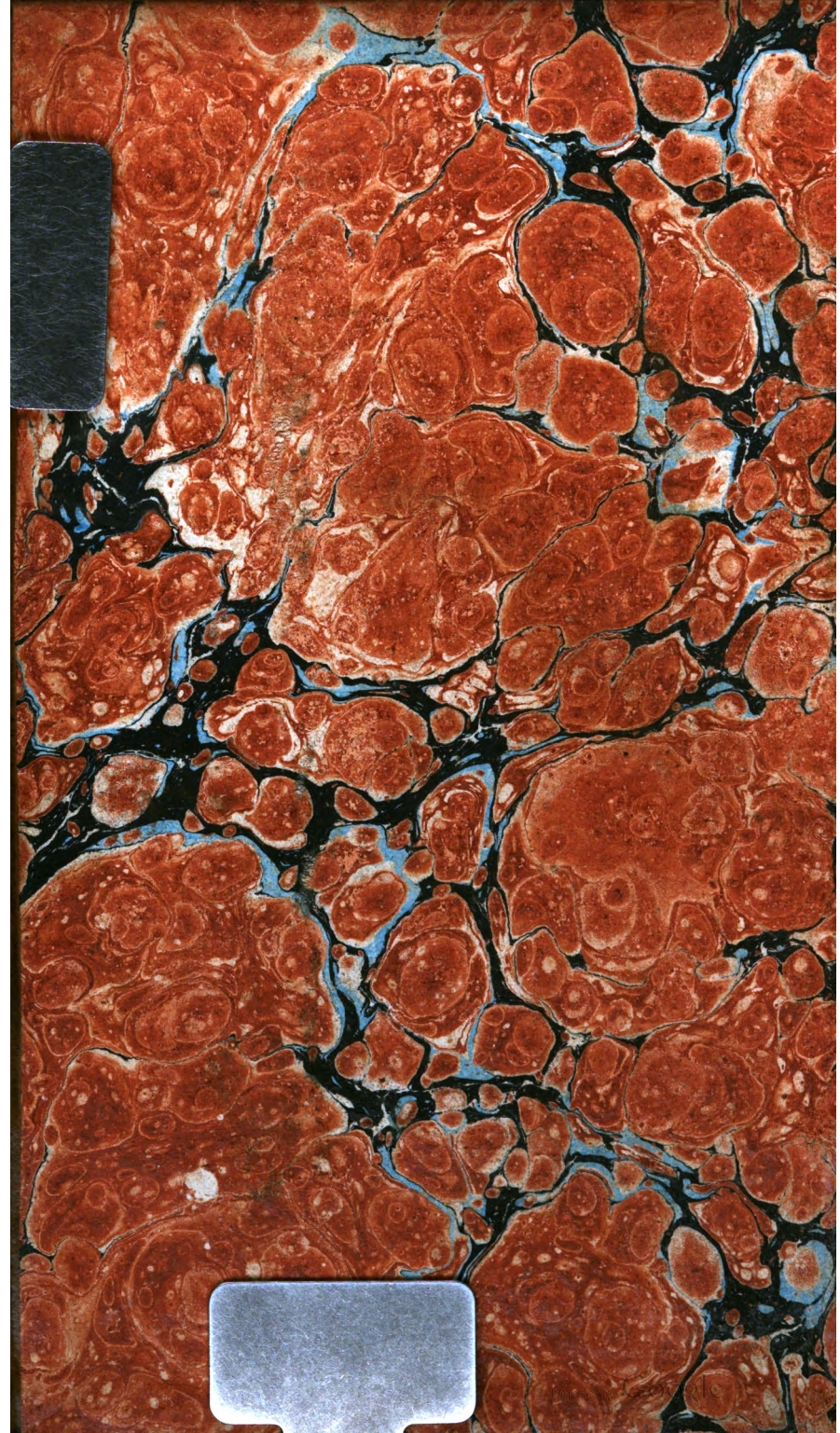
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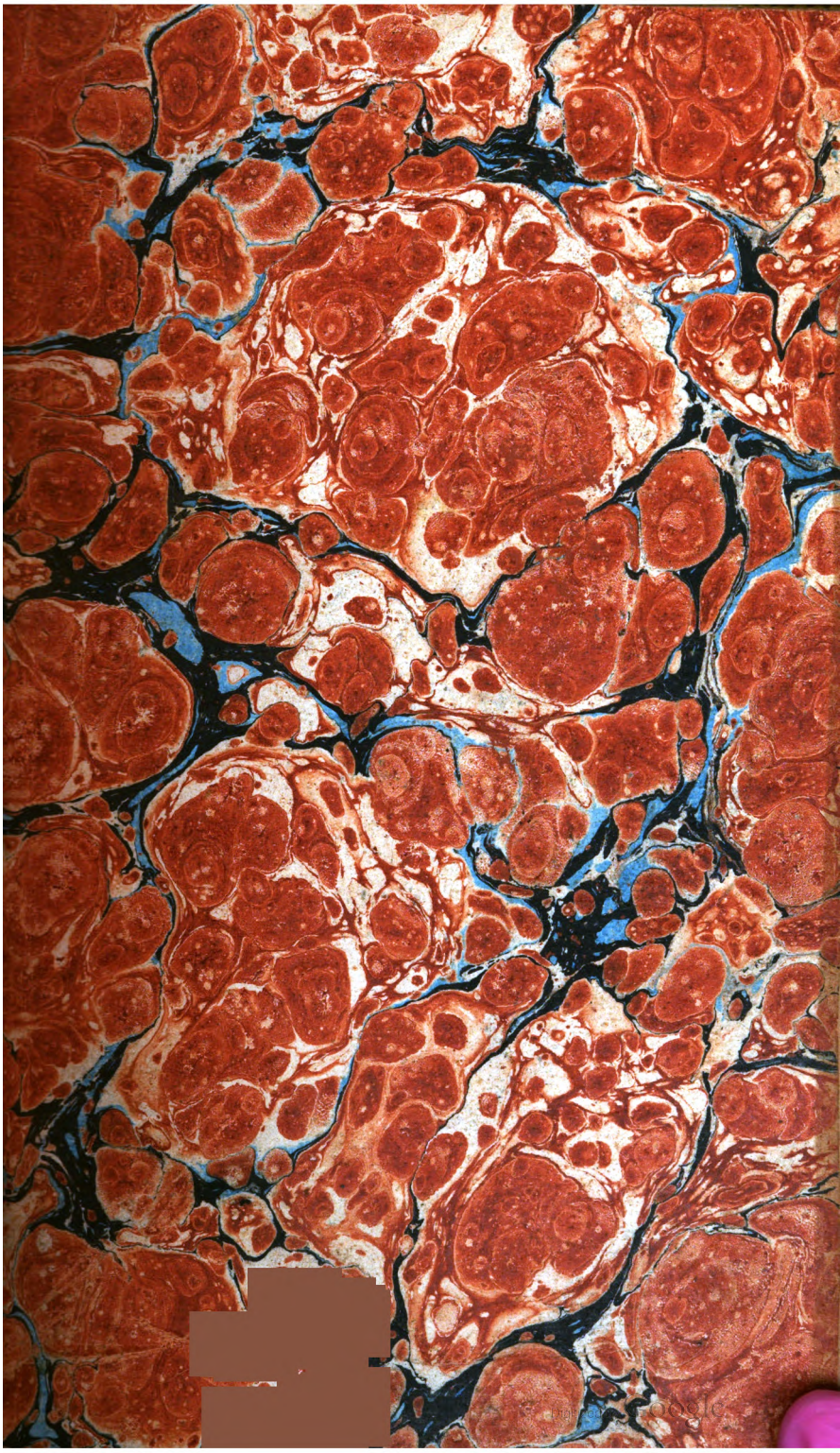
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*Mason*  
*E. 52.*







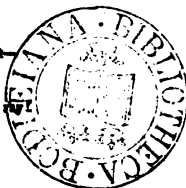
THE  
HISTORY OF PRINTING  
IN  
*AMERICA.*  
WITH A  
BIOGRAPHY OF PRINTERS,  
AND AN  
ACCOUNT OF NEWSPAPERS.  
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A CONCISE VIEW OF  
THE DISCOVERY AND PROGRESS OF THE ART  
IN  
OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

—♦—  
IN TWO VOLUMES.

—♦—  
BY ISAIAH THOMAS,  
PRINTER, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

—♦—  
VOLUME I.  
—♦—

PRINTING dispels the gloom of mental night  
Maid! pleasing fountain of all cheering light!  
How like the radiant orb which gives the day,  
And o'er the earth sends forth th' enlight'ning ray!



—♦—  
WORCESTER:  
FROM THE PRESS OF ISAIAH THOMAS, JUN.  
ISAAC STURTEVANT, PRINTER.

—♦—  
1810.



DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT.

(L. s.)

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eleventh day of May, in the thirty fourth Year of the Independence of the United States of America, ISAIAH THOMAS, of the said District, has deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the Right whereof he claims as Author, in the Words following, *to wit* : The History of Printing in America. With a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers. To which is prefixed a concise view of the Discovery and Progress of the Art in other Parts of the World. In two Volumes.

In Conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned ;" and also to an Act entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned ; and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical, and other Prints."

WM. S. SHAW,

*Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

# DEDICATION.



TO

*The President, and other Officers and Members, of  
the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SO-  
CIETY, in Pennsylvania :—*

AND,

*The President, Counsellors and other Members, of  
the AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS  
AND SCIENCES, in Massachusetts.*

GENTLEMEN,

I KNOW not to whom I can with more propriety dedicate this work than to you, who are professedly patrons of the arts.

No writer, on either side of the Atlantic, has presented to the world a History of Printing in America ; and, as many of the facts relating to the subject were in danger of being irrecoverably lost, I have, with a view of placing them in a state of preservation, undertaken to collect the same, and now take the liberty to present them to you.



Should these volumes meet your approbation, so distinguishing an honor will afford ample compensation for the labor which has attended the construction of them.

With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

ISAIAH THOMAS.

*Worcester, Massachusetts,*

*May 7, 1810.*

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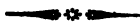
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In page 68, *read*—between the years 1428 and 1431.

## PREFACE.



**THERE** is implanted in man by the allwise Creator, a principle which stimulates him to invention, and produces a desire to communicate his discoveries to his contemporaries and to posterity. With this natural disposition to invent, and then to reveal the products of his ingenuity, is connected an insatiable curiosity to become acquainted with the origin and history of every discovery made by his fellow men.

In no condition of man are the first principles of the arts and sciences unknown ; which circumstance demonstrates that the efforts of invention arise from natural propensities, perpetually stimulated by his desire to render his works more perfect and useful. Rousseau says, " Man is employed, from the first age of his being, in invention and contrivance."

As respects the communication of discoveries, it has been the custom of all civilized nations to hand them down from age to age by the pen of the scribe, and by the types of the printer ; and, even among savages, it is the office of particular persons to chronicle, in their memories, the most interesting occurrences and extraordinary events, in order that they may be conveyed to future generations.

But notwithstanding all that has been done, to transmit to us the history of the origin and progress of the arts, we are still very deficient in this branch of knowledge. The Greeks pretended to know the source from whence every thing was

derived; and it was, probably, to conceal their ignorance of the rise of the arts, &c. that they assigned the invention of them to fabulous personages of fabulous ages.—To Prometheus they ascribed the discovery of fire; to Ceres, or the Egyptian Isis, the method of sowing wheat and barley; to Bacchus the introduction of wine; to Cadmus the art of carving, or statuary, &c.

On the other hand it has been pretended that there never was a first physician, statuary, architect, or astronomer; but, that each art and science has been the result of the combined knowledge and application of a number of individuals who, in most instances, succeeded each other. And, it is said, that the progress of every art was a mystery to those who first practised its rudiments. As an illustration of this position, it is maintained, that he who invented an alphabet never thought of a library so large as that of *Alexandria*.

As the discovery of all those arts, which have a just claim to antiquity, is involved in obscurity, we cannot wonder if some dark clouds should render a view of the origin of Printing indistinct. The following pages will shew, that the precise date of the invention of it in China cannot be ascertained; and, that the first principles of it were known in Europe, and in other parts of the world, from very remote ages; and, long before the reputed discovery of the art at *Haerlem* by LAURENTIUS.\*

\* In a work called the Cabinet, printed at *Edinburgh*, there is an account that several plates have been found in the ruins of *Herculaneum*, a city of the kingdom of *Naples*, supposed to have been overwhelmed by the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A. D. 79, on which plates were engraven the names of eminent men. By means of these plates they were enabled to affix their signatures to any paper, or parchment, with greater expedition than by writing them. This was printing to all intents and purposes, but not arranged into that useful form which it has now acquired.

SOLOMON has said, that “there is no new thing under the sun;” and DUTENS, in his *Recherches sur les Decouvertes attribues aux Modernes*, makes some observations, which are humiliating to the pride of modern inventors. He affirms, “there is scarcely one of



But whatever obscurity may rest upon the origin of Printing, the invention has happily been the mean of effectually perpetuating the discovery of all other arts, and of disseminating the principles by which they are accomplished. It is, therefore, considered as the most important of them all. This benefit which has afforded to the world, together with its usefulness in propagating knowledge of every kind to all classes of men, has excited the attention, and engaged the patronage, not only of monarchs and civil rulers,\* but also of those who have held the highest rank in literature; and, has induced authors in the civilized nations of the old world, where this art has been introduced and established, to write histories of its origin, and the various stages of improvement it has undergone, down to a certain period of time.

the discoveries attributed to the moderns, which had not been, not only known, but also supported by the most solid reasonings of the ancients."

The celebrated French academician FRÉRET, much to the same effect, observes, "Being, at this day, destitute of the works of the ancient philosophers, we are, necessarily, ignorant of the methods they followed in the arrangement and the connexion of their ideas; their systems are to us like those ancient statues of which only fragments remain; and, consequently, we have it not in our power to form a complete judgment of them, unless we could restore the parts which are lost. We owe the same justice to the ancient philosophers as to the ancient sculptors; we should judge of the parts which are lost by those which remain, as it is reasonable to suppose there was a mutual correspondence between them; and, that a collection of them would form a whole, which would be perfectly uniform and consistent. If the moderns have any advantage over the ancients, it consists in their coming after them, and in travelling in roads which have been beaten and prepared by the ancients; and, by the advantages for instruction which we derive not only from their discoveries, but, likewise, from their errors."

\* King George II, of England, it is said, entertained a great regard for this art. In a London newspaper of February 16, 1731, is the following paragraph—"A printing press, and cases for composing, were a few days since, put up at St. James's house for their majesties to see the noble art of Printing. The royal family, and several lords and ladies of the household, attended the exhibition yesterday."

Amidst the darkness which surrounds the discovery of many of the arts, it has been ascertained that it is practicable to trace the *Introduction* and progress of Printing, in the northern part of America, to the period of the revolution. A history of this kind has not, until now, been attempted, although the subject, in one point of view, is more interesting to us than to any other nation. We are able to convey to posterity, a correct account of the manner in which we have grown up to be an independent people, and can delineate the progress of the useful and polite arts among us, with a degree of certainty which cannot be attained by the nations of the old world, in respect to themselves.

I am sensible that a work of this kind might, in other hands, have been rendered more interesting. It has a long time been the wish of many, that some person distinguished for literature would bring it forward; but, as no one has appeared who was disposed to render this service to the republic of letters, the partiality of some of my friends led them to entertain the opinion, that my long acquaintance with Printing must have afforded me a knowledge of many interesting facts, and pointed out the way for further inquiry, and that, therefore, I should assume the undertaking. Thus I have been, perhaps too easily, led to engage in a task which has proved more arduous than I had previously apprehended; and which has been attended with much expense.\*

It is true, that in the course of fifty years, during which I have been intimately connected with the art, I became acquainted with many of its respectable professors; some of whom had, long before me, been engaged in business. From

\* Few persons would form an idea of the cost which has attended the collection of the information I have found it necessary to procure, from various parts of the continent. An entire sale of the edition of this work would barely defray it. The purchase of volumes of old newspapers alone, has required a sum amounting to upwards of a thousand dollars. It is true, however, these volumes are valuable; and, together with the collection previously owned by the author, probably, constitute the largest library of ancient public journals, printed in America, which can be found in the United States.

them I received information respecting the transactions and events, which occurred in their own time, and also concerning those, of which they received the details from their predecessors. By these means I have been enabled to record many circumstances and events, which must soon have been buried in oblivion. My long acquaintance with printing, and the researches I made in several of the colonies before the revolution, certainly afforded me no inconsiderable aid in this undertaking; and, to this advantage, I may add, and I do it with sincere and grateful acknowledgments, that I have received the most friendly attention to my inquiries, from gentlemen in different parts of the United States; among whom I must be permitted to name the following, viz.—**EBENEZER HAZARD**, esq. and judge **J. B. SMITH**, of *Philadelphia*; the hon. **DAVID RAMSAY**, of *Charleston*, *South Carolina*; rev. doctor **MILLER**, of *New York*; rev. **AARON BANCROFT**, and mr. **WILLIAM SHELDON**, of *Worcester*; the rev. **THADDEUS M. HARRIS**, of *Dorchester*; the rev. doctor **JOHN ELIOT**, of *Boston*; and the rev. **WILLIAM BENTLEY**, of *Salem*; *Massachusetts*. To these I must add, among the elder brethren of the type, **WILLIAM GODDARD** and **JOHN CARTER**, esqrs. of *Providence*; and mr. **THOMAS BRADFORD**, and the late mr. **JAMES HUMPHREYS**, of *Philadelphia*. Many others belonging to the profession, in various parts of the union, have laid me under obligations for the information they have given me.

Through the politeness of various gentlemen, I have had access to the ancient MS. records of the counties of *Middlesex* and *Suffolk*, in *Massachusetts*, where Printing was first introduced to this country; to those of the colony of *Massachusetts*, and of the university of *Cambridge*; and, also, to those of the *United Newengland Colonies*; all of the seventeenth century;—likewise, to the records of several of the southern states; and, to many of the principal libraries, in different parts of the *United States*. From these documents and institutions I have obtained much valuable intelligence.

Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, I have experienced much difficulty in collecting, through this extensive country, the facts which relate to the introduction of the art

of Printing in the several states. These facts were all to be sought for, and the inquiry after them had so long been neglected, that the greater part of them would soon have passed beyond the reach of our researches. Most of the printers, mentioned in these volumes, have long since been numbered with the dead, and of whom many were but little known while living; yet, the essential circumstances respecting them, as connected with the art, will, I believe, be found in the following pages; although I cannot flatter myself that they will be entirely free from unintentional errors or omissions.\*

The length of time devoted to collecting materials for this history, has prevented my paying so much attention as was necessary for the revision of it. I make no pretensions to elegance of diction; but had I not been pressed by advancing age, and a multiplicity of domestic concerns, I might, perhaps, have attempted some improvements in the phraseology, although I should not, probably, have altered the general arrangement. As it is, the reader will receive a simple and unadorned statement of facts; and to his judgment and candor I submit the work in its present state. Should any object that the statements, respecting some persons mentioned in these pages, are rather unfavorable to their characters, I can only assure them that they are such as came to my hands, and that I have "neither extenuated, nor set down aught in malice." My first object has been to publish nothing but historical truth. The satires and lampoons which were published during the war, had their effects, but they will now pass only "for what they are worth;" and will not affect the moral character of any man. I introduced some of them with a view to give a true idea of the spirit of the press in those times.

\* Those who discover errors, and such as can add to the information contained in this work, are requested to acquaint the author therewith, by letter; as it is his intention to make every necessary correction and amendment, which from time to time may come to his knowledge, in a copy he has appropriated to this purpose; in order, that if, hereafter, another edition should be called for, the corrections, &c. may appear therein.

The reader will perceive that I have followed the common practice of the writers on Printing, and have traced the art from the period of the discovery of it in Europe; but I am persuaded that few will consider this as a work of supererogation; for although histories of the origin and progress of Printing have been written by several eminent men in Europe, yet, I presume, that the reader will prefer having a view of the whole subject laid before him; especially, as it will be very difficult and expensive to procure the works of those European writers. I have, therefore, endeavored to comprise within a few pages, the substance of many volumes published on the subject; and, I conceive this compressed statement will give a new, and, I hope, a clear view, of the discovery and progress of the art on the other side of the Atlantic.\*

An account of the Origin of Books, and of the arts of Papermaking, Engraving, &c. which are intimately connected with Printing, were, by several of my friends, recommended to my attention; and, I flatter myself, that the introduction of these subjects into the work, will prove to be not altogether uninteresting, or inapplicable.

In the notice I have taken of ancient and modern books, and of the arts of Printing, Engraving, &c. if the reader should not think the observations important, I am persuaded he will find some which are new.

It may be thought that I have given in the account of the printing and the printers of this country, too much attention to some circumstances that are not generally interesting. European writers, however, have been very precise in such par-

\* One of the ancient fathers, by way of apology for publishing a book on a subject that had been treated of largely by others, observed, "This advantage we owe to the multiplicity of books on the same subject, that one falls in the way of one man, and another best suits the level or comprehension of another. Every thing that is written, does not come into the hands of all; perhaps, says he, some may meet with my book who may hear nothing of others, which have treated better of the same subject. It is of service, therefore, that the same subject be handled by several persons, and that the explications of difficulties and arguments for the truth may come to the knowledge of every one by one way or other."

[*Encyclop. Ext.*



ticulars, and I have thought it best to follow their example. It will be recollected that things have a relative importance; and minute circumstances often serve to elucidate a subject. To inquisitive minds, even the *Imprints* and *Colophons* to old gazettes and books, are more interesting than any thing which could now be written; they carry us back to the time when those publications first appeared—the publishers of them seem to speak to us in their own persons—they take us to the very spot where they printed, and shew us things as they were; in a word, these are images of antiquity which we cannot in any other way so accurately delineate as by reprinting them.\* They are, therefore, in every instance, copied with exactness, as are also extracts from ancient printed books and manuscript records. In such quotations, both the orthography and syntax of the original works from which they were taken, whether in English or in other languages, have been carefully preserved, and may, therefore, in these cases, account for misspelling.

In the arrangement of the work, the memoirs of printers follow each other in the order of time in which the subjects of them began business in the respective towns or cities where they resided.

\* What is denominated an *IMPRINT* by printers, is the information given, commonly at the foot of the title page of a book, where, and by whom, it was printed and sold, the date of printing, &c. Formerly imprints were placed at the conclusion of the text, or at the end of a volume, with, or without, a colophon.

*COLOPHON*, is a word derived from a city of that name in Asia, where the artists of all descriptions were exceedingly expert, inso-much that *Κολοφῶνα ἐπιθῆναι*, became a proverb among the Greeks; signifying *ultimam manum imponere*, to put the finishing hand to any thing. The same idea was implied by the word *Colophonem* among the Romans; and, hence our ancient typographical fathers usually concluded the books they printed with an article written by themselves, expressing the time they had spent in printing them; the labor and expense attending the business; the patronage they had received from great men; some observations respecting the nature of the work, or the design of the author, or translator, in having it published, &c. accompanied by pious ejaculations. These conclusions, or finishings of the work, they called *Colophons*.

The biographical sketches of printers are principally confined to their professional concerns, and to such events as are connected with them.

Newspapers are placed in the proper order of succession, or agreeably to the periods in which they were established in the various cities, towns, &c.

The narratives respecting such persons as remained in business after the American revolution, and such newspapers as were continued after this event, are brought down to the time when those printers quitted business, or died, or these publications were discontinued. From the settlement of the country to the establishment of the independence of the United States, few Printers, and not many Newspapers, have, I believe, escaped my observation; and, I may venture to assert that the data respecting them are as correct, as can, at this period of time, be obtained by the researches of an individual.

Histories of printing in Europe, end at the period when the art became generally diffused over that quarter of the globe; that is, at the close of the fifteenth century. Historians who have written on the subject of Printing, in particular kingdoms, have observed the same rule; indeed, when an art becomes generally known through a country, it is no longer necessary to trace its course.

The history of printing in America, I have brought down to the most important event in the annals of our country—the Revolution. To have continued it beyond this period, all will admit would have been superfluous.

From the consideration that the press, and particularly the newspapers to which it gave birth, had a powerful influence in producing the revolution, I have been led to conceive there would be much propriety in giving accounts of the prosecutions of printers for publishing Libels, which occurred under the several colonial governments. Articles of this description, will be found in such parts of this work as contain memoirs of the Printers who were prosecuted, or descriptions of the Newspapers in which the supposed libels were published.

With a view to gratify the admirers of typographical antiquities, I have, in several instances given, as accurately as the

nature of the case would admit, representations of the titles of the most ancient Newspapers; from which a tolerable idea may be formed of the fashion of the originals.

Although a work of this nature may be principally interesting to the professors of the typographic art, yet the facts relating to printing are necessarily connected with others which I have thought it proper to enlarge upon. This circumstance may render these volumes amusing to the man of letters, and not altogether uninteresting to the antiquary.

I devoted some time to obtain a correct account of the booksellers in Boston; it having been my intention to take notice of all who were in the trade from the first settlement of each colony to the year 1775; but I discovered that particular information from other states respecting many, who, in this character, have passed over the stage of life, could not be procured, therefore, the statement is not so complete as I intended it should be. But supposing that the particulars which I have collected may afford some gratification, I have annexed them to this work.\*

I will conclude by remarking, that in the account of printers and newspapers, I have not thought it necessary to attempt the avoidance of a repetition of the same terms; indeed, I much doubt if our language affords a sufficient variety for the purpose of changing the phraseology in the narratives given of a great number of persons, or things, which are alike in their nature, professions, or descriptions.

If this work should fall into the hands of critics who may feel disposed to treat it with severity; in case I have not already said enough to ensure their forbearance, I beg leave to inform the liberal and ingenuous writers who "assume the critic's noble name," that I will readily correct all errors which may be candidly pointed out to me; and, that I will bear all "just reproof with decent silence."

I. THOMAS.

*Worcester, May 7, 1810.*

\* It was my design to have given a catalogue of the books printed in the English colonies previous to the revolution; finding, however, that it would enlarge this work to another volume, I have deferred the publication; but it may hereafter appear.

# HISTORY OF PRINTING.

---

**BOOKS** being the great offspring of the press, before I enter into the history of Printing, it may be proper to state the advantages and disadvantages commonly imputed to books ; and, give a detail of their mechanical construction, and the materials whereof they are composed.

## *Of Books.*

AT different periods of time objections have been urged against books and learning, the principal of which are, that they may be employed to excite the evil passions, and propagate heresy and impiety ; that they may be used for the purpose of imposing on the people ; and the famous John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster was of opinion, that books are pernicious, because they have a tendency to make people idle.

But, if books may be employed for ill purposes, they are much oftener used for those which are good. They are the chief instruments of acquiring knowl-

edge ; they are the repositories of the laws, and vehicles of learning of every description ; our religion itself is contained in books, and without them, says Bartholin, " God is silent, Justice dormant, Physic at a stand, ~~Philosophy lame, Letters dumb,~~ and all things involved in Cimmerian darkness." The eulogia which have been bestowed upon books are numberless ; they are represented as " the refuge of truth, when ~~it is banished~~ out of conversation ; as standing counsellors and preachers, always at hand, and always disinterested ; having this advantage over all other modes of instruction, that they are ready to repeat their lessons whenever we have occasion for them." They supply the want of masters, and even, in some measure, of genius and invention, and can raise the dullest persons, who have memory, above the level of the greatest geniuses which are destitute of the aid of books. " Perhaps their greatest glory is the affection borne to them by some of the greatest men." The devotion of the renowned Scipio for them was so great, that he preferred their company to that of living beings, and used to say, that " through their means he was never less alone than when by himself ;" to him may be added, M. Cato, the elder Pliny, the emperor Julian, and many other distinguished characters. Richard Bury, bishop of Durham and lord chancellor of England, wrote a treatise expressly on the love of books.

As to their being a source of idleness, that is contradicted by the experience of all ages, and the examples of eminent men. If Anaxagoras, through a love of contemplation, neglected his worldly affairs,



he has had but few imitators. Many illustrious Romans could be mentioned who alternately followed the plough, harangued in the forum, and commanded armies, who were attentive to books. The patriarchs and the inspired psalmist were eminent men, yet did they not neglect their business as shepherds; and St. Paul, an eminent scholar, was a tentmaker. Cleanthes was a gardener's laborer; Esop and Terence were slaves. Augustus Cesar had his garments spun and wove in his own house. Mahomet kindled his own fire, swept the floor, milked his ewes, and mended his shoes and his woollen garment with his own hands. Charlemagne made a law to regulate the sale of his eggs; and of Gustavus Vasa, it is said that "a better laborer never struck steel." Although most of these great characters had much acquaintance with books, yet that circumstance did not prevent their attendance on the most minute of their public or private concerns.

We must admit, however, that the paths of knowledge are not entirely free from difficulties or causes of regret. The more a man knows, the more fully will he be convinced of the circumscribed limits of the human understanding, which are confined, principally, to this earth, and to a very contracted view of the transactions of men which have taken place in the course of some thousands of years. The infinity of space, the remote, if not the boundless ages of antiquity, are, as it were, before him, but must for ever remain unexplored and unknown, although they are not entirely impervious to conjecture. It is a cause of regret that Homer did not

enlarge on the subject of the Atlantic Island ;\* that Solon did not finish his poem of the Atlantides, and that Plato did not complete his Timæus, which would have contained all the information he obtained from the wise men of Egypt on that interesting part of the history of the world. It occasions regret that the three great libraries of Alexandria were de-

\* The Atlantic Island, or continent, was supposed to have been situated where the Atlantic Ocean now is. There are several hints in ancient authors respecting the Atlantides, a people said to inhabit that country. Plato, who lived about four hundred years before the time of Christ, gave some account of them in one of his dialogues ; he intended to have given a full account of them in his Timæus, but he did not live to finish the work. He had his account of them from the wise men of Sais, in Egypt. The particulars he has written concerning their cities, buildings, &c. are more like romance than history. Among other things he mentions, that they invaded Greece with a powerful army some thousands of years before his time. In Gen. x. 25, there is mention made of Peleg the son of Eber, who was so called because *in his days the earth was divided*. From this passage some learned men have inferred that anterior to that period the country of the Atlantides was joined to Europe ; and that, by some great convulsion of nature, it was then disjoined and torn from Europe and Africa, removed farther west, and was this identical continent of America.

The Rev. Samuel Mather, of Boston, who nearly forty years since, wrote a small, but ingenious treatise, intitled, "America known to the Ancients," appears to have been of opinion, that the posterity of Japhet, by Magog, were the primary inhabitants of America.

Should this be true, this country was, thousands of years since, inhabited by a renowned and warlike people, who were well qualified to make those ancient encampments, the remains of which have lately been discovered.

stroyed ; first, by the Gentile Cesar ; secondly, by the Christian Theophilus ; and thirdly, by the Mahometan Amrou, by order of the Saracen caliph Omar. The contents of those libraries might have thrown light on the history of the Atlantides, and many other curious facts, which are, for ever, sunk in oblivion.

The Goths and Mahometans are not the only people who are to be blamed for the destruction of ancient manuscripts. Many, very many, valuable works have been destroyed by the Popes, and other intolerant bigots among Christians. These things are to be regretted, and particularly the burning of the library of the Escorial, which contained the learning of the Moors in Spain. The superstitious priests who followed Columbus to America, in their zeal to promote the Christian religion, destroyed the ancient records of the natives, depicted and perpetuated by hieroglyphics, which in fact gave the history of that part of this immense continent ; but which the Spanish priests supposed were used in the rites and ceremonies of Paganism, and believed them to be the works of the devil, with whom they imagined the Mexicans had leagued themselves.\*

To get wisdom, is not only pleasant and convenient, but it is a duty frequently enjoined in holy writ.—*Happy is the man who findeth wisdom, and the man who getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies ; and all the things thou canst*

\* Clavigero's Hist. of Mexico.

*desire, are not to be compared unto her.* Proverbs  
iii. 13—15.

How great then are our obligations to the inventors of the art of Printing, who have rendered wisdom easy of attainment, and given us an immense advantage over the ancients, who

*Wand'ring from clime to clime observant stray'd,  
Their manners noted and their states survey'd.\**

Like the bees, they were obliged to collect their sweets by roving from flower to flower; but we come at once to the hive, and get our fill without difficulty or labor. Lycurgus and Pythagoras were obliged to travel into Egypt, Persia and India, to learn the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the principles of Zoroaster and the Gymnosophists. Solon, Plato, and most of the ancient sages and philosophers, were under the necessity of seeking the wisdom of Egypt in Sais, and other Egyptian cities. Herodotus and Strabo, had to collect their materials for history and geography from the observations they made in their travels. Till within the last three hundred and forty years,† there were no printed books in our language; they were all written; and being scarce and of great price, were consequently in but few hands; the means of knowledge were then very inconsiderable, compared with what they are at present. If a man wanted to become ac-

\* Pope's *Odyssey*. B. 1.

† The first book known to be printed in English was, *The History of Troy*, translated from the French by William Caxton, at Cologne, and by him printed in that city, anno 1471.

acquainted with the history of any particular country, or to gain other useful information, perhaps he had to travel several hundreds of miles to get sight of some manuscript which related to, or explained the subject matter of inquiry. But we are contemporaries of all ages, and citizens of all nations. We can travel much farther than did Jason or Ulysses; and by our fire sides extend our acquaintance to the regions they visited; where we can also scan the great Southern Ocean with Drake, Bougainville, Cook, and many other circumnavigators; and become acquainted with the history, geography, laws, manners and products of all the known nations of the earth, in company with a vast number of well informed ancient and modern travellers. We aspire with Copernicus, Galileo, Huygens, and Newton, to explore the infinite regions of space, and to ascertain "what other systems circle other suns." We soar with Leibnitz, or Locke, into the regions of metaphysics; or descend with Woodward, or Buffon, De Luc, or Whitehurst, to an examination of organic structures on the face of the earth; or search beneath its surface, and discover the ruins of antiquity, which have been hidden for ages. We survey superficies and solid contents with Fergusson, De la Hire, or Herschel; or, enter into the chymical analysis of matter with Priestley or Lavoisier. Books afford us opportunities to become acquainted with all subjects, recondite and familiar—with the religions of all ages and nations—with the institutions of Moses, and of Lycurgus—with the Theogony of Hesiod, and the Mythology of Homer. We learn to revere the happy influences of genuine re-



ligion ; and to detest the baneful operations of bigotry, enthusiasm, superstition and infidelity.

Such are the benefits we derive from books ; and, as it respects the great body of the people, nearly all these advantages result from Printing ; for without this discovery few would have been able to procure even a Bible, a manuscript copy of which must have cost, perhaps, five or six hundred dollars.

At the present period of light and information, we can easily conceive of the shackles which retarded the progress of the human mind, in its researches after truth, before the invention of the *ars artium*.

Ancient authors had no means of conveying to the world the knowledge they had acquired ; they could, it is true, transcribe a few copies of their works, which, in circumstances the most favorable, could only reach a very few libraries of the most wealthy in a kingdom, and then, perhaps, were doomed to perpetual rest, or subjected to be destroyed by the caprice of the powerful, and the prejudices of the illiterate.

Printing removed the veil which obscured the reason of man ; it broke the chain that bound him in superstition. By multiplying copies of the labors of the learned, and dispersing those copies over the earth, even to its remotest regions, he was enabled to search after truth in religion, in philosophy, in politics ; and, improvement in the mechanic arts.

The advantages of books to society, have been a theme which has employed the pens of many writers, from the time of the origin of Printing to the present day.

A celebrated modern French author,\* thus elegantly describes the benefits which the world has already received from the invention and progress of the art, by augmenting the number of books.

"Printing has been applied to so many subjects ; books have so rapidly increased, they have been so admirably adapted to every taste, every degree of information, and every situation of life ; they afforded so easy, and frequently so delightful, an instruction ; they have opened so many doors to truth, which it is impossible ever to close again, that there is no longer a class or profession of mankind from whom the light of knowledge can absolutely be excluded. Accordingly, though there may still remain a multitude of individuals condemned to a forced or voluntary ignorance, yet the barrier between the enlightened and unenlightened proportion of mankind is nearly effaced, and an insensible gradation occupies the space which separated the two extremes of genius and stupidity."†

An English divine,‡ whose Essays are well known and approved by the learned and pious, is

\* M. de Condorcet, in his "Outline of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind,"

† These distinctions between genius and stupidity have been revived within the course of a few centuries in Europe where, in the dark ages, all were reduced to nearly the same level of ignorance and brutality. Lord Lyttleton, in his life of Henry II, informs us, that in the reign of King Stephen, in the twelfth century, it was considered as a mark of nobility not to know a letter. This was before the discovery of Printing in Europe.

‡ Dr. Vicesimus Knox.

one among many who inform us of the benefits which Christianity has derived from the increase of books ; as well as the great utility of Printing to the literary and political world, notwithstanding the abuse of it by the artful and licentious. The observations of this able and pleasing writer are these, viz.

“ To the art of printing, it is acknowledged we owe the reformation. It has been justly remarked, that if the books of Luther had been only multiplied by the slow process of handwriting, they must have been few, and would have been easily suppressed by the combination of wealth and power ; but, poured forth in abundance from the press, they spread over the land with the rapidity of an inundation, which acquires additional force from the efforts used to obstruct its progress. He who undertook to prevent the dispersion of the books once issued from the press, attempted a task no less arduous than the destruction of the hydra. Resistance was vain, and religion was reformed ; and we, who are chiefly interested in this happy revolution, must remember, amidst the praises bestowed on Luther, that his endeavors had been ineffectual, unassisted by the invention of Faustus.

“ How greatly the cause of religion has been promoted by the art, must appear when it is considered that it has placed those sacred books in the hands of every individual, which, besides that they were once looked upon in a dead language, could not be procured without great difficulty. The numerous comments on them of every kind, which tend to promote piety, and to form the Christian phi-

osopher, would probably never have been composed, and certainly would not have extended their beneficial influence, if typography had still been unknown. By that art, the light, which is to illuminate a dark world, has been placed in a situation more advantageous to the emission of its rays; but if it has been the means of illustrating the doctrines, and enforcing the practice of religion, it has also, particularly in the present age, struck at the root of piety and moral virtue, by propagating opinions favorable to the sceptic and the voluptuary. It has enabled modern authors, wantonly to gratify their avarice, their vanity, and their misanthropy, in disseminating novel systems, subversive of the dignity and happiness of human nature. But though the perversion of the art is lamentably remarkable in those volumes which issue, with offensive profusion, from the vain, the wicked, and the hungry, yet this good results from the evil, that as truth is great and will prevail, she must derive fresh lustre, by displaying the superiority of her strength, in the conflict with sophistry.

“ Thus the art of Printing, in whatever light it is viewed, has deserved respect and attention. From the ingenuity of the contrivance, it has ever excited mechanical curiosity; from its intimate connexion with learning it has justly claimed historical notice; and from its extensive influence on morality, politics, and religion, it is now become a subject of very important speculation.

“ But, however we may felicitate mankind on the invention, there are those, perhaps, who wish that, together with its compatriot art of manufactur-

ing gunpowder, it had not yet been brought to light. Of its effects on literature, they assert, that it has increased the number of Books, till they distract, rather than improve the mind; and, of its malignant influence on morals they complain, that it has often introduced a false refinement, incompatible with the simplicity of primitive piety and genuine virtue. With respect to its literary ill consequences, it may be said that though it produces to the world an infinite number of worthless publications, yet true wit and fine composition will still retain their value, and it will be an easy task for critical discernment to select these from the surrounding mass of absurdity; and though, with respect to its moral efforts, a regard to truth extorts the confession, that it has diffused immorality and irreligion, divulged with cruel impertinence the secrets of private life, and spread the tale of scandal through an empire; yet, these are evils which will either shrink away unobserved in the triumphs of time, and truth over falsehood; or, which may, at any time, be suppressed by legislative interposition."

*The Materials of which Books have been made.*

THE methods of making books, and the materials of which they were composed, have been various in different ages of the world. Our progenitors appear to have been desirous of transmitting their knowledge and discoveries down to posterity: for that purpose they have successively used the ma-

terials which they called *folium*, *tabula*, *tilia*, or *phyllyra*, *scheda*, *codex*, *liber*, *biblos*, &c.

A very ancient method was, that of spreading wax on wood made into thin boards, and writing on them with the stylus; the boards were strung together, and thus made books. At other times the stylus was employed on thin sheets of lead, on ivory, the bark of trees, on spade bones, which were strung together, until they were supplanted by the Egyptian papyrus\*, which made decent books. That article, however, was not produced in sufficient quantities to furnish the literary nations of antiquity; therefore parchment was used in many countries; the invention of which has been ascribed to Eumenes king of Pergamus.

But there are those who doubt whether Eumenes was the original inventor.—it must have been known long before his time; for mention is made of it by more ancient authors. The prophecy of Jeremiah was written, by Baruch, in a *roll of a book*, which could not have been the linen roll made use of in less ancient times. Some have supposed that the *book* of the law of Moses must have been of parchment, or it could not have lasted so many ages

\* In the 9th Odyssey of Homer it is mentioned, that when Ulysses was preparing for the destruction of the cities of Paphos, Philoctetes fastened the gate of the palace yard with a cable made of the *biblos*, which was brought from Egypt—this seems to imply that the papyrus became an article of commerce much earlier than most antiquarians seem to have imagined—and from the Greek word *biblos*, being applied to it by Homer, we may conclude that books were made of it before his time.

as it did. What king Eumenes did, was, probably, nothing more than to make an improvement on parchment, which from him came to be called *Pergamena*. The occasion was this—Eumenes was ambitious to rival the Alexandrian library, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; but, in order to circumvent him, Ptolemy prevented the exportation of the papyrus, that Eumenes might not find a substance on which his scribes might copy the books; upon which Eumenes directed them to make use of parchment, which many suppose was then very well known—and, as his scribes became so familiar with it, we cannot wonder they hit upon some improvement. In process of time the papyrus, perhaps on account of the troubles of Egypt, grew into disuse, and parchment supplied the place of it, insomuch that nearly all the ancient manuscripts which have been handed down to us are made of that material. There are some in different parts of the world, which are from twelve to fifteen hundred years old; \* some of them are in the shape of

\* See Wetstein, Woide, Griesbach, Michaelis, &c. on the Alexandrian manuscript, in the British Museum, of which Dr. Woide published an edition in 1786, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, as in the manuscript itself. This copy is so perfect an imitation of the original, that it might supply its place. Its title is, *Novum Testamentum Græcum Codice. MS. Alexandrino qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur descriptum*. It is a very splendid folio, and the preface of the learned editor contains an accurate description of the manuscript, which is supposed by many critics, to be about 1500 years old. Considerable dispute, however, has arisen respecting its antiquity.



our quarto books, and many of them are considerably larger. Some writings were made on rolls of parchment down to the period of the invention of printing. Such are the British rolls of parliament, for the care of which an officer is appointed by the British government, who is called the Master of the Rolls.

That Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was not the inventor of parchment, appears clear; because Diodorus Siculus says, it was used by the Persians in very ancient times; and, Herodotus remarks, that the skins of sheep and goats were used among the ancient Ionians long before the time of Eumenes. Some have concluded that it was not known among the members of the Amphictrionic league, because they engraved their ancient treaties on columns; but that was done with a view to make them more public and durable; and it might be for the same reason that the children of Seth, as mentioned by Josephus, wrote, or engraved, their astronomical discoveries on columns. The writing of the law of Moses on two tables of stone, does not prove that parchment was not then in use; for Moses mentions some books; and the book of Jasher\* is mentioned in Joshua, &c. and as it is believed that Moses was the author of the book of Job,† we may, from the

\* Joshua x. 13.—See also Gen. v. 1.—Exod. xvii. 14.—Numb. xxi. 14.—Deut. xxxi. 24, 26.—Josh. xviii. 9.—1 Sam. x. 25, &c.

† Commentators on the book of Job have differed respecting the author; some ascribing it to Moses, some to Job, and others to Eliphaz the Temanite. The Rabbins, and the generality of Christians, consider Moses as the writer of it.

exclamation, *O that mine adversary had written a book!* presume that in those days the making of books was a familiar practice. Indeed from another passage in Job, chap. xix. v. 23, 24, it might be presumed that all the different modes of writing, as well as *printing, engraving* and book-making were known in those days; for he says, *Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen [the stylum] and lead, in the rock for ever!*

The Greeks had many authors before the time of Homer, such as Orpheus, Musæus, Hermes, and sixty or seventy more, who are mentioned by ancient writers; and, some are of opinion, that Homer lived much earlier than is generally supposed. His works were written, according to some authors, in tablets of wood covered with wax. The writings of Hesiod, which were deposited in the Temple of the Muses in Bœotia, were originally written upon plates of lead. These facts seem to prove that in the time of the most ancient Greek authors, parchment and the papyrus were unknown; but there can be no doubt that the skins of beasts prepared either as leather or parchment, were known before the time of Alexander, and, consequently, prior to the pretended invention of Eumenes.

Solomon was a great maker of books; *for he spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five.\** He also wrote upon natural history, trees, plants, herbs, beasts, fowls, insects

\*1 Kings, iv. 32.

and fishes; and he was acquainted with the works of learned men of other nations. He was a great author; but at last he found his subjects so inexhaustible, that he came to the conclusion that, "*in making many books there is no end.*"\* It is supposed that Solomon was contemporary with Zoroaster,† the founder of the Magian religion, in Persia; that he wrote his book of Ecclesiastes against the dogmas of Zoroaster; and, it is probable, he had those works written on parchment, according to the custom of Persia. Therefore, supposing parchment had not been introduced into Judea, previously to his time, we cannot suppose that a king, who was acquainted with all the rich productions and luxuries of the world, could remain ignorant of so great a convenience. We cannot, indeed, doubt that parchment was, before his time, known by the Israelites; and, that it was used even in the times when the Jews were liberally supplied with the papyrus from Egypt. It has continued in use from those days until now; and is still much used in Europe, in all records and legal transactions.

Paper, for more than two centuries, has been employed in the manufacture of printed books.

\* Eccles. xii, 12.

† We learn from ancient authors that the writings of Zoroaster amounted to two millions of lines, or verses, which must have made a very considerable number of books. As it has been affirmed there were many learned men of that name, it is thought, by some, the writings of all have been imputed to one of them. Seneca, in his Epistle lxxxviii, mentions that most of the 4000 volumes [perhaps pages] of Didymus, were written concerning the birth place of Homer.

Numerous authors have written largely both with respect to parchment and paper; but, I will endeavour to comprise, in a few pages, the substance of what they have published in many volumes.

It is the opinion of many of those authors, that the art of making paper from silk and cotton, came, like many of our arts, from the Chinese. The use of it in Europe cannot be traced higher than to the eleventh century. In England, the oldest testimony, of paper, made from linen, does not ascend higher than to the year 1320.

Of paper, there have been four principal kinds; Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian, and European, which were invented in different periods of time.

As to the epocha when the Chinese paper was invented, we are left in darkness; nearly all we know of the matter is, that the Chinese have had the use of paper from time immemorial. They still excel all other nations in the manufacture of it, so far as relates to fineness, and delicacy of texture. Silk is supposed to be an ingredient in the manufacture of the best Chinese paper.\* Common paper is manufactured in that country, from the young bamboo, the inner bark of the mulberry, and other trees, and from the skin which is found in the web of the silk worm.

Paper is made, in Japan, from the bark of trees, the growth of that country. Kempfer describes four, but the best paper is made of the bark of the young shoots of the true paper tree, called in the Japanese language *kaadsi*; this bark is properly

\* The Chinese have a book called *Yexim*, said to have been written by their first king Fohi, about 3000 years before Christ.

cleansed, and boiled in clear lye, till the matter acquires a proper consistency ; it is then washed and turned till it is sufficiently diluted, and reduced to soft and tender fibres ; after this, it is laid on a smooth table, and beaten with a kind of batoon of hard wood, till it resembles paper steeped in water ; the bark thus prepared is put into a narrow tub, and a glutinous extract from rice and the root oreni, is added. These are stirred together till they form a liquor of an equal and uniform consistency ; then poured into large tubs, and the workmen proceed to form the sheets. The Japanese paper, according to Kempfer, is of great strength ; and, it is said, the materials which compose it might be manufactured into ropes ; one kind of it is fit for bed hangings and wearing apparel, resembling so much stuffs of wool and silk that it is often mistaken for them. When paper was first made in Japan cannot be known ; it is believed they received the art from China.

In Egypt, the western parts of Asia, and the civilized parts of Europe, it is probable, paper was not known till long after it was discovered and used in China. The ancients wrote on stones, bricks, the leaves of trees, and flowers, the rind or bark of trees, tables of wood covered over with wax,\* and on ivory, plates of lead, linen rolls, spade or blade bones. Pliny says, the most ancient way of writing was on the folium, or leaves of the palm tree. Then they used the inner bark of a tree ; and hence, *biblos* in Greek, and *liber* in Latin, came to signify a book. When they wrote on harder substances, they used

\* This method is mentioned by Homer.

iron *styles*, and from this circumstance, it is said, came the phrase of *different styles* in writing.

According to Varro, paper was not made from the Egyptian papyrus, till about the time that Alexander the great built Alexandria. From the term papyrus, is derived our word paper. The papyrus was a large rush, or reed, which grew in Egypt to the height of several feet, and of a considerable bigness.\* The Egyptians made sails, rigging, ropes, mats, blankets, clothes; also, small ships of the stalks of the papyrus, and paper.

From Pliny,† Guilandinus and Salmastius, we learn that the Egyptians made their paper in the following manner. They began with lopping off the two extremities of the papyrus, namely, the head and root, as of no use to the manufacturer; the remaining stem they slit lengthwise, into two equal parts, and from each of these they stripped the thin scaly pellicles, of which it consisted, with the point of a needle, or knife. The innermost of those pellicles were looked upon as the best, and those nearest the rind, the worst. They were, accordingly, kept apart, and constituted different sorts of paper. As the pellicles were taken off they extended them on a table; then two, or more of them, were laid over each other transversely, so as that the fibres made right angles. In this state they were glued together by the muddy water of the Nile, and put

\* It grew in marshes near the Nile, was of a triangular shape, about fourteen feet high, and eighteen or twenty inches in circumference.

† Pliny, lib. xiii. c. 2.

under a press to produce adhesion. When the water and pressure proved ineffectual, a paste made of the finest wheat flour, mixed with hot water, and a sprinkling of vinegar, was used; the sheets were again pressed, and afterwards dried by the sun; they were then flattened and smoothed by beating them with a mallet, when they became paper; which they sometimes polished by rubbing it with a smooth hemisphere of stone, glass, &c.

Paper was an important branch of commerce to the Egyptians, which continued to increase towards the end of the Roman republic. In a letter of the emperor Adrian, the preparing of the papyrus is mentioned as one of the principal occupations in Alexandria. "In this rich and opulent city," says he, "nobody is seen idle; some are employed in the manufacturing of cloth, some in that of paper," &c. "The demand for this paper was so great toward the end of the third century, that when the tyrant Firmus conquered Egypt, he boasted that he had seized as much paper and size as would support his whole army."\*

By a publication of M. Meerman, at the Hague, in 1767, it appears that paper made from linen rags had been used in Europe before the year 1300.

The abbé Andrez published, at Parma, in 1782, a work wherein he maintains, that paper made from silk was very anciently fabricated in China, and the eastern parts of Asia; that the art of making this paper was carried from China to Persia about the year 652, and to Mecca in 705. The Arabs sub-

\* Encyc. Vol. 12. p. 705.

stituted cotton, and carried the art of making paper into Africa and Spain; from Spain it passed into France, from thence to Germany and England, &c.

The European paper made from bark, was only the inner, whitish rind inclosed between the bark and the wood of various trees, particularly the maple, plane, beech, elm, the tilia, philyra or linden-tree, the last of which was chiefly used for the purpose. On this, stripped off, flatted and dried, the ancients wrote books, several of which are said to be still extant.

The *βομβυξ*, or *Charta Bombycina*, mentioned by Greek writers, formerly was used to signify silk, though afterward the term was applied to cotton paper, which has been in use for several centuries past. Cotton paper appears to have been very common eight or nine hundred years ago, consequently it must have been invented long before. Anterior to the destruction of the late French king's library, at Paris, there were manuscripts in it on cotton paper, which appeared to be of the eleventh century. The learned antiquarian, father Montfaucon, saw one there, proved to be written in 1050. The same author mentions that cotton paper was commonly used in the eastern empire, and even in Sicily, in the twelfth century.

When, or by whom, linen paper was invented, is not known; as Polydore Virgil confesses, it may be of great antiquity. If the Decalogue was written on tables of stone, the laws of Solon on rollers of wood, those of the Roman Decemvirs on brass, and the ordinances of the Areopagus, and the various treaties of the Greeks, were engraved on columns;



if monuments have been found with Egyptian hieroglyphics, with Pelasgic, with Runic, characters on them; this does not prove that the ancients had not more convenient materials to write on. The quaint Dr. Arbuthnot says, that Augustus Cesar had neither glass to his windows, or a shirt to his back; but however that may have been, linen was made in very ancient times. There is mention made of flax, and *fine linen*, in the writings of Moses.\*

\* Although Varro ascribes the manufacture of the papyrus to the time of Alexander; yet, it is certain, they had paper in much more ancient times; and from their great ingenuity in the manufacture of the *linum*, or flax, in which they excelled all people, both ancient and modern, we may presume they had linen paper. The making of fine linen was a very important branch of manufacture among the Egyptians, who were so expert at the business, that they carried it to a most wonderful degree of perfection. It is related, that they could draw out threads which were finer than the finest web of the spider. The priests were always habited in linen, and never in wool-len; and, not only the priests but generally all persons of distinction wore linen garments. The *fine linen of Egypt* was renowned through all antiquity, and a most extensive trade in it was carried on; much of it being exported into foreign countries. The making of it employed a great number of hands. *Fine linen* is the first article of Egyptian commerce, mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. 7, and the women were much employed in the manufacture of it, as appears from a passage in Isaiah, chap. xix. 9, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind, that it should interrupt every description of labor. *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net work, shall be confounded.* We find that one consequence of the plague of hail, brought upon Egypt by Moses and Aaron, Exodus ix. 31, was, that

The following is the best evidence I have been able to collect, respecting the invention of paper, made from linen, in Europe ; which the reader will see is not entirely free from contradiction.

Scaliger ascribes the invention to the Germans, Maffei to the Italians, others to some Greek refugees at Basil, who took the hint from the manner of making cotton paper in their own country ; Coringius thinks we received it from the Arabs. Linen paper appears to have been introduced into Europe, about the fourteenth century, according to the Count Maffei, who found no traces of it before the year 1300. Some go much farther back, and take the *libri kntei* mentioned by Livy, and other Roman writers, to have been written on linen paper. Others, make the invention more modern than it is, as can be clearly proved, for they date its origin only about three hundred years ago : but Mabillon has shewn the contrary, from many manuscripts about four hundred years old, written on linen paper ; and Balbinus has produced divers instances of such manuscripts written before the year 1340. To this we may add, that there are writings on linen paper, in the Cottonian Library at Oxford, in the times of most

*the flax was smitten, because it was balled. The embroidered work from Egypt, mentioned by Ezekiel, was made from the finest of the linen, and frequently died purple. This, in Pliny's estimation, held the second rank ; the first place he gives to the Asbestos, or Asbestinum, or incombustible flax. As there was so much trade in flax and linen in Egypt, it is not unlikely paper was made from it ; and this may account for the difficulty the moderns have met with in tracing the origin of linen paper.*

of the kings and queens of England, as high as the year 1335. That celebrated historian and divine, Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, wrote as follows, on this subject.

“The invention of making linen paper, Mr. Ray puts very late. For he tells us in his *Herbal*, that it was not known in Germany till the year of our Lord 1470; that then two men, named Anthony and Michael, brought this art first to Basil, out of Galicia, in Spain, and that from thence it was learnt and brought into use by the rest of the Germans. But there must be a mistake in this, there being both written and printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a book called *Catholicon*, written by Jacobus de Janua, a monk, printed on paper, at Mentz, in Germany, anno 1460; and therefore the Germans must have had the use of this sort of paper long before Mr. Ray saith. And there are manuscripts that are written on this sort of paper, that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several registries within this realm [England] where the dates of the instruments or acts registered prove the time. There is in the Bishop’s registry at Norwich, a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it began in Germany. And I have seen a registration of some acts of John Cranden, prior of Ely, made upon paper, which bear date in the fourteenth year of king Edward the second, that is,

Anno Domini 1320. This invention seems to have been brought out of the East. For most of the old manuscripts in Arabic, and other oriental languages, which we have from thence, are written on this sort of paper, and some of them are certainly much ancients than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It is most likely the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the east into that country ; of which Galicia being a province, it might, from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been from thence first brought into Germany ; but it must have been much earlier than the time he says."

This passage from that learned author, makes it sufficiently clear, that the invention of linen paper was earlier than the period marked by several of the authors I have mentioned. His supposition, that it "came from the east," favors the opinion that it was known in the east, and most likely in Egypt, from very ancient times.

It is not only possible, but probable, that the Egyptians made it some thousands of years since, perhaps long before they manufactured the papyrus from the fragments of their linen ; and, that they made the papyrus for ordinary purposes, to which it would have been extravagant to apply the paper made from their fine linen.

Paper was, for near three hundred years, manufactured on the continent of Europe in a much better manner than in England. I have seen books, printed at Paris about two hundred and fifty years ago, on paper which appears to have been chiefly

made from silk. It resembles the Chinese paper in regard to its strength, delicacy of texture, and want of whiteness. This shews that the French, as well as the Dutch, had made great progress in the business of papermaking, near three centuries back. Till within the last century the English did very little in this line of business ; but they now manufacture paper in greater perfection than the Dutch, from whom they formerly purchased the greatest part of their fine paper.

From the preceding remarks it appears, that books were originally written on stone, bricks, bones, wooden planks, bark, leaves, wax, leather, lead, linen, silk, horn, skins and paper. The forms of books were almost as different as the materials of which they were made. When bark was introduced, it was rolled up, in order to be removed with greater ease ; the roll was called *volumen*, a volume ; the name was continued afterwards to written rolls of paper and parchment, which were composed of several sheets fastened to each other, “ and rolled upon a stick, or *umbilicus* ; the whole making a kind of column, or cylinder, which was to be managed by the *umbilicus* as a handle, it being reputed a crime to take hold of the roll itself ; the outside of the volume was called *frons* ; the ends of the *umbilicus*, *cornua*, which were usually carved, and adorned with silver, ivory, or even gold and precious stones ; the title, *σύλλαβος*, was struck on the outside ; the whole volume, when extended, might make a yard and a half in width, and fifty feet in length. The form, which obtains among us, is the square, composed of separate leaves ; this form was known,

though little used, by the ancients. To the form of books belongs, also, the internal economy, as the order and arrangement of letters and points, into lines and pages, with margins and other appurtenants. This has undergone many varieties ; at first, the letters were only divided into lines ; then into separate words, which, by degrees, were noted with accents, and distributed, by points and stops, into periods, paragraphs, chapters, and other divisions. In some countries, as among the orientals, the lines began from the right, and ran to the left ; in others, as the northern and western nations, from left to right ; others, as the Greeks, followed both directions, alternately going in the one, and returning in the other. In most countries, the lines run from one side to the other ; in some, particularly the Chinese, from top to bottom.\*

The ancients are said to have made paper of the asbestos. Signior Castagnatta proposed a scheme for making books of that kind of paper, which from its imperishable nature, he would call *Books of eternity* ; not only the leaves, but the thread which sewed the books, and the covers, were all to be made from the same substance ; and the letters were to be made of gold. Dr. Brukmann, professor at the university in Brunswick, in Germany, published the natural history of that fossil, and four copies of his book were printed on paper made of it.

The reader will find, hereafter, some notice of the rise of papermaking in our country. Many of our

\* Fabric. Bibl. Antiq. c. 19.—Brit. Encyc. Vol. 3.

manufacturers appear to be too intent upon profit ; although some of them attempt to rival the best performances of the papermakers of Europe.

*Scarcity and value of Books, before the invention of Printing.*

Wharton\* mentions the scarcity of books in the seventh, and several subsequent centuries ; among many instances he gives the following.

“ Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope St. Martin requested Sanctamund, bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany.”

“ In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict III, to beg a copy of Cicero de Oratore, and Quintilian’s Institutes, and some other books ; “ for, says the abbot, although we have parts of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France.”

“ Albert, abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labor, and immense expense, had collected an hundred volumes on theological, and fifty on profane subjects, believed he had formed a splendid library.”

\* Hist. of English Poets. Vol. 1.

“ At the beginning of the tenth century, books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the Bible, St. Jerome’s Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices, &c. served several different monasteries.”

“ The library of the bishop of Winchester, in 1294, contained nothing more than “ *Septemdecem parti librum de diversis scientiis.*” That prelate in 1299, borrowed of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin, “ *Bibliam bene glossatam* ;” that is, the Bible with marginal annotations ; but gave a bond for the due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity.”

“ If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation ; and he offered it on the altar with great solemnity.”

“ The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister, or library, of a religious house.”

“ The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle’s Physics, or even obliterate the title.”

“ When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present at the sale.”

“ About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin Bibles to the univer-



sity of Oxford, with a condition, that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge."

"The library of the university at Oxford, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church."

"About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris; the rest were chiefly books of devotion; the classics were Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boëthius."

"About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's *Romum de la Roze*, was sold before the palace gate, at Paris, for forty crowns."

The dutchess of Buckingham, left to the lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of king Henry 7th, of England, "in consideration of the lady Margaret's love of literature, a book of English, being a legend of saints; a book of French, of the Epistles and Gospels; a Primer, with clasps of silver, gilt, covered with purple velvet."\* This was estimated a most valuable legacy.

It is certain that after the art of making paper was known, manuscript books were multiplied; but the number of books was greatly enlarged when Printing was discovered. Rees† observes, that "the invention of the art of making paper, and the invention of the art of Printing, are two very memorable events in the history of literature and of human civilization."

\* Strype's Annals. † Cyclo. Vol. 4.

*Of Books written by the Scribes, before the art of Printing was discovered; and, of those which were first printed.*

Nearly four centuries having elapsed since the art of making books was practised wholly by the scribes; and we, having been so long familiarized to the productions of the press, cannot form an adequate idea of the methods which were used to complete manuscript books, in the elegant manner in which they were found. Many thousands of volumes have, at great expense, and by strenuous exertions of learned men, been collected from all the ancient depositories of Asia and Africa, as well as Europe, which were accessible, and placed in the great public libraries in Italy, Germany, France, and England, &c. but few, on either side of the Atlantic, who have not had the opportunity to visit those libraries, and examine the antique volumes, can be well acquainted with the state of perfection to which the art of making them had been brought. As this part of America was not settled till printed books had been nearly two hundred years in use, very few manuscript volumes were brought here by our forefathers; of those few there are now scarcely any remains; so that even a leaf is held in high estimation, by the American antiquary, as a precious relic of the ingenuity and skill of the ancient scribes.

From our want of information, we readily believe that, with Printing, originated the many niceties, and methodical arrangements, which constitute

books, and produce their convenient forms and elegant appearance. The fact is otherwise—printed books were made to imitate, in the most minute particulars, those which had preceded them from the hands of the scribes. The persons who printed them, kept the art a secret, that the books might be sold at the prices usually charged for those which were written.\* Ancient manuscript books were written, generally, on parchment, after the time of Eumenes; and, to carry on the deception, those which were printed, before the secret was exploded, were printed on parchment; and, indeed, for some time after, until the article became scarce through the multiplication of copies, when paper was made to resemble vellum, and substituted in its place; that paper was, at least, equal to the finest vellum paper in use at the present day. The scribes prepared their parchment according to the size of the books they wrote. The sizes were generally folios and quartos—but few of octavo; and some of a smaller size for children. Paper was made for books, the dimensions whereof corresponded with those made of parchment. The sizes of the sheets were, generally, those of pot and foolscap; and, for a century, that used for printing did not exceed the limits of crown.

After the parchment for manuscript books was prepared, the margin to the pages was determined; which, in all eminent works, was large and handsome. The spaces for pages, columns and lines,

\* Trimethius calls Printing, "the wonderful art of characterizing books."

were marked out with the greatest exactness, from the beginning to the end of a volume—the space for the lines was in proportion to the size of the script or writing ; the letters, or characters, for which, were what is termed Gothic **blacks**, very similar to the blacks or types of German and English text, now occasionally used. The inventors of Printing carefully imitated the sizes and shapes of those characters, first on blocks of wood, and afterward on metal types. Pages, columns and lines of written books, corresponded with the nicest accuracy on each side of a leaf, occupying the like spaces on one side as on the other, and were continued with the same uniformity throughout the volume—this, which is by printers called register, was perfect. The pages of written books were in two columns ; so were those of books from the press, for a century after it came into use. The space between the columns was large. In folio volumes, written with letters of the size of pica, I have measured, in several MS. books, or rather the leaves of them, which I possess, five eighths of an inch between the columns ; and three eighths of an inch in quartos, or works written in smaller characters than the size of pica. The same space was made between the columns of pages in books first printed.

In the infancy of the art, the variety in the sizes of the types, was but inconsiderable ; however, such as they were, they were copied from the sizes of the letters made use of in manuscript books. I have compared the pages of several of those books, written before the era of Printing in Europe, with the casts of both old and modern specimens of types,

and have found the lines of whole pages of the ancient manuscripts to correspond in breadth of face, &c. with the pica blacks in the printed specimens ; the written and printed works measuring so exactly together, as not to gain one line in thirty. The letters of some that I have compared, corresponded exactly to english, and those of others to long primer and brevier. I was struck with the great resemblance of *written* brevier, on a parchment leaf of an ancient MS. quarto volume, to that of brevier **black** early printed. At first sight, I thought the work was impressed by types ; but, soon discovered my error, by observing that the spaces for the pages, columns and lines, were all marked out by the rule and divider ; and that the letters crowded on each other, in many places, more than they could have done, had printing types been used. I critically examined this manuscript leaf, and laying it by the side of a printed column, from brevier types, I found that the lines of each ran exactly parallel, for the whole length of the manuscript, containing seventy lines. The manuscript page was in two columns ; the width of each column, twenty two brevier ems. The space between the columns three eighths of an inch ; the breadth of the faces of the letters, were as uniformly true and exact as if they had been cast ; the ink was a fine black, precisely similar to that anciently used for Printing ; or, to speak more correctly, the ancient printers used ink exactly resembling in color that which was used by the scribes. No rules at the sides, head or feet of the pages, or between the columns, were used by the scribes, nor were they to be seen in books

made by the earliest printers. The use of rules, or such black lines as divide the advertisements in newspapers, and flowers, and two line letters, were unknown till long after the invention of Printing in Europe.

Scribes, or illuminators as they were called, decorated the beginnings of manuscript books, and their several chapters, or divisions, with ornamented capital letters. The ornaments were made with liquid ink of various colors, and they were often very elegantly and beautifully pencilled and gilded. At the beginning of books, and at the principal divisions of them, the letters were larger than at the subheads, &c. The same method was used in the first printed books; a space was left in printing them, for the ornamented letters, which were afterwards filled up by the illuminator. This method was practised for nearly a century; or until, at length, ornamented letters, engraved on wood, supplied the place of the largest illuminations; and two, three, or four line letters, from the foundry, the place of the smaller letters for the purposes mentioned. The principal colors used in the illumination of such works, as I have seen, were red and blue; and, in books, made three or four hundred years ago, they appear as fresh as if just laid on; and, although some of the manuscripts have been, in part, decayed, by having been frequently wet, and by other accidents, yet the ink with which the letters were made, and the colors of the illuminations, remain fresh and unaltered.

The art of cutting on wood, for letter press, was brought to considerable maturity in the fifteenth

century, and to great perfection in the sixteenth. Large ornamented capital letters, as substitutes for the works of the illuminator, were then introduced, and were soon after followed by those decorations called head and tail pieces.

From what has been said, it appears that the scribes excelled in the art of writing; and that Printing was, for a long time, modelled by the works of the scribes, of which it was an imitation. Perhaps it never equalled their performances as long as it continued to imitate them.

Manuscript books, and those printed for many years after the invention of types, were variously decorated in binding. Strength appeared to be the first object, neatness the second, and elegant works were executed for those who chose to pay for them. They were sewed on single, or double bands, of strength proportioned to the bulk of the work. The bands were fastened to boards of compact wood, of a proper size, and planed to a suitable thickness. The boards were covered with parchment, and then impressed with divers figures. Some of the most elegant books were covered with clear vellum; then overlaid with gold leaf, and impressed with a stamp nearly the size of the boards, and others were handsomely ornamented; after which they were clasped. Stamps, with various devices, were used for that purpose, and the year in which the book was bound, appeared in large figures, on its covers.

Printing was introduced at Venice, as early as 1469; that city was famed for improvements in the art. Books printed there before 1476, and for many years after, exceeded, in neatness of type, and

elegance of impression, those of all other parts of Europe. I had read of the beauty of the Psalter, printed by Faust and Schoeffer, in 1457, and of several early editions of the Bible, &c. printed at Mentz and Venice. I supposed, however, no more was meant than that they were so estimated considering the infancy of the art; and, I should not have had a due knowledge of the beauty of ancient typography, had I not seen a Bible, which I have the satisfaction to own, printed at Venice, in *fourteen hundred and seventy six*; a date which carries us back within about twenty years of the time when metal types were invented, by Schoeffer, with cast faces, and to within forty six years of the period when Printing was discovered by Laurentius.

This Venetian edition of the Bible is a copy of the Latin Vulgate. It is a folio; and the paper is an imitation of fine, clear vellum. The types are semi Gothic, differing from either ancient or modern blacks. They are superior in neatness; and, compared with blacks, may be considered as an elegant specimen. The letters are shaped more like Roman than any other characters; their faces are broad and bold, and have but few fine strokes. Double letters and abbreviations are very freely used. The ink is clear, and of a fine black; and, in no book, ancient or modern, have I seen better press work. There is not a letter but what is fair. In technical language, no pick, blot, blur, friar or monk, is to be seen in the work. It is printed, generally, in insets of five sheets each, but some are of six. Insets of five sheets, require ten forms of two pages to a form; and would render a very large cast, or fount, of types



necessary. The size of the types is near that of small pica in width of body, the ancient pica gaining of the modern about one line in twenty four. The sheets have signatures at the foot of every other page, for the first ten, of the insets. There is no catch, or indicative words at the bottom of the pages; no folios, or pages numbered; no running titles, excepting every other page is headed; the head extending beyond the limits of the page, with the name of the book, as **Numeri**, **Deemie**, in larger type, of the size of two lines english, of handsome face, and more resembling blacks than the types of the text; the pages are in two columns, with a space of nearly half an inch between them; and a similar space between the body of the page and the heads abovementioned. There are no typographical decorations whatever; but the whole work is handsomely ornamented by the illuminator; and, the colors of the illuminated letters are as lively as if just laid on with the pencil. The illuminated I, which begins the first chapter of Genesis, is very beautiful; it is of the length of seventeen lines pica, and eight in width; two ems of the width, encroach on the margin of the page. For the width of two ems, the ornamental part of the I, is carried in the margin, close to the text, along the side of the page, and extends below its foot. The beginning of each book, has a larger illuminated letter than its several chapters. Those for the chapters are three lines in depth; of only one color, and that is red. Each capital letter in the text has, throughout the volume, a touch of red from the pencil. In printing the work, spaces were left to add the illuminated letters.

Every chapter is without a break, or indentation, from the beginning to the end of it, except for the illuminated letter. If a chapter ended with part of a line, the other part is filled by the number of the chapter following, if only room barely for the numerals. If no room was left, the number of the succeeding chapter is inserted at the end of the first line of that chapter, which follows on without any white line or space; the illuminated letters being the only marks for dividing the chapters. Where a book ends, a white line follows, with a short prologue, or introduction, to the next book; then another white line succeeds, and the text begins with a large illuminated letter, and the whole of the first line in large types, of the same size as those used for the heads to every other page.

A prologue of seven parts, and the preface of St. Jerome, precede the Pentateuch; after the Pentateuch, the books of the Old Testament, accompanied with the prologue of St. Jerome, &c. are arranged, as is usual in the Latin Vulgate, as follows, viz. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, in four books, Chronicles, Esdras I, Nehemiah, Esdras II, Esdras III, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, [the divisions in the 119th Psalm are all numbered as distinct Psalms, making the number of Psalms 171] Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Maccabees. The books of the New Testament follow each other, as in the present English translation, with the addition

of the prefaces of St. Jerome prefixed to each. Then follows an alphabetical explanation of Hebrew names, in sixty six pages. The whole work makes nine hundred and fourteen pages.

This edition is mentioned by Le Long "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," page 253; and by Clarke, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*. Vol. 1. page 191, in these terms—"This is a beautiful ancient edition; it has a copious index at the end, which enhances the value of it. As it is not described by Clement, or mentioned in the Harleian catalogue, it is, undoubtedly, rare in Europe. De Bure mentions it, as *une édition rare, fort recherches des curieux*."

In all probability, it is the most ancient printed book now in America, excepting one hereafter mentioned.

This Bible, which has been preserved with great care, resembles the work of the most perfect ancient manuscripts. Not any of the leaves are torn, and only two are wanting, one of which contains a part of the prologue to the Pentateuch, and, unfortunately, the other was the title page. The imprint is at the end of the apocalypse, and is as follows:

"Explicit biblia impressa Venetijs: p Frāciscū de Hailbrun 7 Nicholaū 8 frankfordia socios M.CCCC.LXX.VI."

I have a copy of the celebrated Bible called, by way of distinction, "The Great Bible;" by Archbishop Cranmer;\* printed in the reign of Henry VIII, anno 1540.

\*This is Tyndal's version revised by the directions of Archbishop Cranmer, by Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, and others, and examined by Cranmer, who pre-

This Bible is a folio, of large size, printed on good vellum paper, from a black type of the size of large bodied english, and in insets of four sheets. Every other page is numbered at the end of the running title, e. g. **fol. 10.** and so on. The ink is excellent; and the work is well executed, though inferior to the printing done at Venice, and in other parts of Europe, sixty years before. This volume never received the finishing touches of the illuminator. The prologues, the first chapter of Genesis and of Matthew, are begun with very large ornamented letters; and all other chapters with smaller decorated letters, from wooden engravings. The large T, at the beginning of Matthew, fills the whole width of the lines of the column, and a space of eighteen lines in length. Wooden cuts of scripture history, of nearly the width of the columns, and twelve lines deep, are interspersed throughout the work; but are not so well executed as cuts for similar purposes, which were made at the same period in Germany, and many other parts of Europe, where artists excelled in engraving on wood for letter press printing. The archbishop's prologue ends with **God save the King;** and beneath, by way of what are called tail pieces, are two very large ornamented letters, **D. K.** [Henry King] of Gothic shape, well engraven on wood.

The title is, “**¶** The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy scripture, bothe

fixed a prologue, &c. to it; whence it is called Cranmer's, or, “The Great Bible.” Tyndal's was the first translation of the Bible, printed in England; though Wickliffe was the first translator of it into the English language.

of the olde, and newe testamēt, with a prologe therinto, made by the reverēde father in God, Thomas archbyshop of Cantorbury; ¶ This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the Churches. ¶ Prynted by Rychard Grafton. *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. M. D. xl.*" The lines are printed in black and red alternately. This title occupies three inches, by three and five eighths in the centre of a large frontispiece, or border, in magnitude thirteen and six eighths by nine and six eighths inches. This border is mentioned by British writers, in the Encyclopedias, &c. as a "beautiful frontispiece." It is from a wooden engraving, and if not beautifully, it may be said to be well executed for that kind of work done in England in 1540; a description of this frontispiece may, to many, be acceptable.

Before I give an account of it, I will observe, that it is used also as a border to the title page of the New Testament; which, that title informs us, is "translated after the Greke;" and then mentions all the gospels, epistles, &c. which it contains. Like the title of the Old Testament, it is printed with black and red lines, alternately. The frontispiece, or border, is said to have been designed by Hans Holbein, a celebrated Swiss artist of that time. A description of it follows.

On the top of it, is a representation of the Almighty in the clouds of heaven, with both his hands stretched out, and two labels going from his mouth. On that going toward his right hand are the following words, "*Verbum meum quod egredietur de ore meo non reuertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quaecunque volui. Esa. lv.*" His left

hand points to the king, who is represented kneeling at some distance bareheaded, and his hands lifted up toward heaven, with his crown on the ground before him, and a label going out of his mouth. On the label which comes from the Almighty is this text—“**Inveni virum iuxta cor meum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas. Act. xiii.**”—to which answers that proceeding from the king, “**Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum. Psal. cxviii.**” Underneath the Almighty, the king is again represented, but enthroned, and the royal arms placed before his feet. On the right hand stand two bishops bareheaded, and their mitres on the ground, in token, as it should seem, of their acknowledgment of the king’s supremacy. The king gives to one of them a book, shut, with these words on the cover, “**VERBUM DEI;**” and the following words on a label going out of his mouth, “**Hec precipe et doce.**” The bishop receives it, bending his right knee. On the king’s left hand stand several of the lords temporal, to one of whom he delivers a book, clasped, with “**VERBUM DEI**” on the cover of it, and the following words on one label—“**A me constitutum est decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo tremiscant et pabeant deum viventem. Danie. vi.**” And on another label, this text, “**Quod iustum est iudicate. Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum. Deut. primo.**” The nobleman receives the book, bending his left knee. Underneath the bishops, stands archbishop Cranmer, with a mitre on his head, and habited in his rochet; over which is a stole. Before him is one kneeling with a shaven crown, and habited in a surplice.

to whom the archbishop delivers a book, clasped, with the words "**VERBUM DEI**," on the cover of it; he uses the following sentence, which appears on a label coming out of his mouth—"**Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Christi. primo. Pe. v.**" Behind the archbishop seems to stand one of his chaplains. At the archbishop's feet is placed the coat of arms of his family, which is the same as that afterwards prefixed to his life published by archbishop Parker, only here distinguished by the crescent, as the arms of a younger family. Under the lords temporal stands the lord Cromwell, the king's vicegerent, as appears by his arms placed at his feet, as the archbishop's are. His lordship is represented as standing with his cap on, and a roll of paper in one hand, and in the other a book, clasped, with "**VERBUM DEI**" on the cover of it, which he delivers to a nobleman, who receives it of him bareheaded. The following label is over their heads, "**Diverte a malo et fac bonum, inquire pacem et persequere eam. Psalmo XXXiii.**" At the bottom, on the right hand, is represented a priest with his square cap on, in a pulpit, preaching to a large auditory of persons of all ranks and qualities, orders, sexes and ages, men, women, children, nobles, priests, soldiers, tradesmen, and countrymen; which are represented, some standing, and others sitting on forms, and expressing themselves very thankfully. Out of the preacher's mouth goes a label with these words—"**Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, &c. 1 Tim. ii.**" On the right side of the

pulpit are the words, "VIVAT REX;" and, in labels coming from the mouths of the people and children, "VIVAT REX," [*Long live the King*] to express the great and universal joy and satisfaction which all the king's subjects, high and low, great and little, had, and their thankfulness to the king, for his granting them the privilege, of having and reading the holy scriptures in their mother tongue. On the left side, are represented prisoners looking out of the prison grates, and participating this great and common joy.

In the text of this Bible, those parts of the Latin version, not found in the Hebrew or Greek, are inserted in a smaller type; such, for instance, are the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 10th verses of the 14th Psalm, as in the translation used in the English book of Common Prayer; and the disputed texts, 1 John, ii. 23, and ch. v. 7, 8—also, Rev. viii. 23, &c. A mark is used to denote the difference of reading between the Hebrew and Chaldee. Johnson calls this edition of the scriptures, "The Bible in the large or great volume," and ascribes it to the year 1539. He, and several other English writers, in the notice they take of it, observe that king Henry VIII, at the request of archbishop Cranmer, who had long been engaged in revising and correcting Tyndal's translation, determined to have it printed, although great opposition was made to it by some of the superior clergy; particularly in the convocation, the interlocutor whereof, made a speech against putting the scriptures into the hands of mere English readers; in the course of which he made use of this curious argument—"If," said he, "we give them the scrip-



tures in their vernacular tongue, what ploughman, who has read, that *no man having set his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven*—will make a straight furrow?"\* But the power of the king prevailed, and the opposition was overcome. He allowed Grafton, the printer, and bishop Coverdale, as corrector of the press, by permission from the French monarch, Francis I, to go to France, and execute the work at Paris; where printing was done better, and where paper could be had cheaper, and of a quality superior to what was made in England.† They accordingly went to Paris in 1537, and nearly completed an impression of 2500 copies; when, notwithstanding the royal permission to execute the work in that city, the officers of the inquisition, by virtue of an order, dated December 17, 1538, seized the work, prohibited their proceeding with it, and ordered all the copies to be burned. Coverdale and the English agents fled, and the holy office became appeased; but the officer, who had the charge of committing the books to the flames, was bribed to save a part of them; and Grafton's agents afterward returned to Paris, recovered the copies that were preserved, and carried them to London, together with the types, presses and French printers, where the edition was completed; as appears by the imprint of the book in 1540. If this account be correct, the work, though completed in London, must be considered as a specimen of French, rather than of English, printing. [a]‡

\* Ryder's History of England. † Rees's Cyclo. Vol. 4.

‡ References of this description point to NOTES near the close of the volume.

While I am treating of ancient books, I will mention one or two more in my possession. The first of them, I believe was printed as early as the year 1470. A number of pages are lost, both from the beginning and end of it; but above 500 pages of the work remain. The title page, as well as the latter part of the book being gone, no imprint is to be found; and neither the place where it was printed, nor the year can be ascertained. But the features of the typography are such, as to ascertain that it came from the press in the infancy of the typographic art. The subject of the work is natural history. A considerable part treats of botany, part of zoology, part of ornithology, part of ichthyology, part of petrification, &c. The treatise on plants contains 530 chapters; each of which begins with an illuminated red letter. The chapter, whatever its length, is but one continued paragraph, from beginning to end, without a break line. Sections of chapters are distinguished by capital letters; i. e. A shews the first section, B the second, and so on. The letters are placed in the beginning, middle, or end of the line; and wherever one section ends, another immediately succeeds it. The volume is a folio; the work is in Latin; the pages contain two columns each; they are not numbered; have no catch or direction words; but have, in large types, a running title, as, "**Tractatus**," on the left hand page, and "**De herbis**," on the right, placed two pica ems distant from the body of the page. The work has a large margin, and a space of three eighths of an inch between the columns of each page. It has not the features of ancient English

printing : but by comparing the book with other antique volumes, I am led to believe, that it came from a German press. This, like the Bible printed at Venice, has no typographical ornaments ; such as head pieces, flowers, rules, &c.—and, similar to that, has, throughout the whole, types of only two sizes—one for the text, and a larger for the heads. The ink, like that of all ancient Printing, is excellent, as is the press work. There is no perceptible difference in the color, or in the impression, throughout the volume. The monks, friars, and other imperfections of the press, we should suppose were unknown to the fathers of the type. The work is printed in insets of four sheets each, with signatures ; and on good vellum paper. The types are the ancient **black**, well cast, of the size of english, but broader faced, and not so handsome as those of a later period. The illuminated letters at the beginning of the chapters, appear to have been made with despatch, and are of inferior execution. About the middle of the book, a small letter is introduced in the space left for the illuminator, as a direction for him to make the same letter with his penoil.

Preceding every chapter is a cut of the plant, animal, or bird, &c. concerning which the chapter treats. These cuts are of the width of one column of the page, and are, generally, from three, to four and a half inches in length ; coarsely executed, and appear to be the rude efforts of the earliest designers, in wood, for letter press printing. However, the articles are well expressed, and are all colored.

This book is a valuable relic of ancient typography, and engraving on wood ; and would, doubtless,

be held in high estimation, if placed in the cabinet of an European antiquary.

Magdeburg acquired considerable renown, on account of the printing done in that city, in the sixteenth century. I have a Romish Missal, by Simon Paulus, bearing the following imprint. "Ex officina Typographica VVolfgangi Kirckneri. Anno 1573." It contains seven hundred pages, small octavo, well printed with good ink, on vellum paper; and is principally from the cursive [*Italic*] type. Old German, and a very handsome Greek letter, were occasionally used for quotations, &c. and Roman for the introductions, or what is since called, from its having been printed in red letter, the rubric to the prayers. A few of the Roman two line letters, in the title page, &c. are of rude workmanship; and appear as if the faces were not cast, but cut; others are well shaped. The book has a number of well executed wooden cuts of scripture history. The printer of it appears to have had a great variety of founts for that time. Among them I observed a very neat cursive paragon, used for the dedication. The book is complete, and in its original binding of 1573. The year when it was bound, is impressed on each side of the cover; and the execution is in the best style of that age. The cover is vellum, impressed with various figures, &c. over boards of hard wood. Pasteboard was not then, nor for many years after, used by bookbinders.

Among the early productions of the press, may be distinguished various splendid editions of Primers, or Prayer Books; they were embellished with cuts, finished in most elegant taste. Many of them

were grotesque, and some obscene, though not designedly so. In one of them is a representation of an angel crowning the virgin Mary, and the Almighty assisting at the ceremony. The editors of the Encyclopedia mention that they had seen in a book of natural history, the Supreme Being represented as reading on the seventh day, when he rested from all his works. In some places St. Michael is seen overcoming Satan; in others, St. Anthony appears attacked by several devils, of most hideous forms. "The Prymer of Salisbury," printed in 1533, is full of cuts; and, at the bottom of the title page, is the following remarkable prayer.

"God be in my Bede,  
And in my Understandynge,  
God be in my Eyen,  
And in my Lokynge,  
God be in my mouthe,  
And in my Spekyng,  
God be in my Herte,  
And in my thinkynge,  
God be at my ende,  
And at my departynge."

Scaliger tells us, his grandmother had a printed Psalter, with cuts, the cover of which was two inches thick. In the inside was a kind of recess, which contained a small silver crucifix: The book appeared to have been printed from engraved blocks of wood; and, probably, was bound according to the prevailing fashion of those times.

Luckombe, in his "History and Art of Printing," mentions that, "about the time of king Henry II, of England, the manner of publishing the works

of authors was, to have them read over three days successively, before one of the universities, or other judges appointed by the public; and, if they met with approbation, copies of them were then permitted to be taken, which were usually written by monks, scribes, illuminators, and readers brought up to that business for their maintenance."

I will quit the subject of ancient books, after having stated some brief observations on the "*Horarium*" of Laurentius. This work, made for the use of children, in eight very small pages, is supposed to have been the first book printed by the discoverer of the art in Europe, between the years 1430 and 1431.

That adept in typography, and learned antiquary, Gerard Meerman, L. L. D. and pensionary of Amsterdam, became acquainted with the first literary characters in Europe. He visited the principal libraries where any thing that first issued from the presses of Holland, Germany, France, or England, was preserved; and, it is presumed that no one, either before or since his time, was better informed with respect to ancient printing. He was the most active of all the writers who have attempted an investigation of facts, relative to the commencement of the art in Europe. He examined, with the eye and judgment of a profound critic, every description of printing that he met with from the presses of Laurentius, Geinsfleiche, Faust, Guttemburg and Schoeffer, as well as those of all the other patriarchs of the type, who flourished in the first age of the art. In his *Origines Typographicæ*, he gives the result of his researches respecting the

*Horarium*, in substance, as follows—"It was the first work of Laurentius—there is a rudeness in the types that I have not observed in any other instance.—After it was critically examined by proper artists, and good judges, they gave it as their opinion, that it agreed exactly with the description given of it by Junius, &c. It is conformable to the first edition of the Dutch *Speculum Salvationis*, and the fragments of the first Haerlem edition of *Donatus*, both of which are the works of the same Laurentius, and were preceded by the *Horarium*."

Meerman has published *fac similes* of pages of several productions of the press of Laurentius, which shew the progressive improvements he made in the art. Of these specimens the *Horarium* occupies the first place. I have had an exact engraving made from Meerman's *fac simile* of it, which is annexed to this volume. It may be considered as the greatest typographical curiosity ever exhibited in this part of the world.

This small tract, which contains only the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria oro pro nobis*, the Apostles' Creed, a short prayer beginning, "*Ave salus Mundi*;" and another prayer, seems to exhibit, as Meerman observes, "a specimen of his piety, and a first attempt in this newly invented art." It has no signature, no directions, or catch words; nor has it any numbers to the pages; those which appear on the plate, were added, together with the crooked lines, by Meerman, to direct the pages as they followed each other, when folded. There are no hyphens at the end of the lines where words are divided; on the contrary, a syllable, divided in

the middle, is seen in the last page ; and, in the third and fourth lines, words are divided thus *Sp iritu* ; and in page one, line six, “ *sancti ficetur.*” There are neither distinctions, nor points seen, as in other works printed by Laurentius. The lines are uneven ; the letters vary in size, are dissimilar in figure, and many of them appear as if broken in the act of engraving them on the wooden blocks, from which I have a strong belief it was printed, notwithstanding the opinion of abler judges in Europe, who have concluded the work was impressed on moveable wooden types. The imperfect letters and words in the eighth page, appear so in the original. The spaces at the beginning of the Lord’s Prayer, Creed, &c. were left, as was usual in all the books first printed, to be filled, by the illuminator, with the large letters, which are wanting.

### *Books Illuminated.*

The ingenious art of illuminating was practised long before, and for some time after the discovery of Printing in Europe ; but as soon as the art of cutting pictures on blocks of wood was brought to some degree of perfection, the ornamented letters of the engravers on wood, supplied the place of the illuminations formerly made with the brush or pen. The ornaments of the illuminators were, many of them, exquisitely fine, and curiously variegated with the most beautiful colors—very often with gold and silver. The margins of books were embellished with a variety of figures of kings, and other



ms. simulat  
 apud in yari  
 aam solore  
 s. simon b  
 i. a. d. v. a. d.  
 de v. i. o. n. i. a.  
 o. j. z. s. i. m. o. n.  
 i. a. d. o. r. a. t. o. n.  
 i. s. u. p. e. r. a. m. i. s.

Ma v. l. a. m. i. s. s. i. o. n. i. s.  
 o. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. q. u. i. d. a. m.  
 s. u. p. e. r. a. m. i. s. s. i. o. n. i. s.  
 s. u. p. e. r. a. m. i. s. s. i. o. n. i. s.  
 n. i. n. g. e. l. i. i. n. q. u. i. d. a. m.  
 z. v. a. l. d. o. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s.  
 o. c. t. i. m. o. n. i. a. t.  
 v. d. u. a. r. i. o. r. i. s.

4

1

v. i. o. n. i. a.  
 i. e. i. n. m. a.  
 f. a. m. i. l. i. a.  
 r. e. d. e. a. n. t. i.  
 r. u. s. v. e. r. s. a.  
 o. s. c. i. p. l. e.  
 i. t. a. l. e. v. i. r. g. o.  
 b. e. n. e. d. i. t. a. m. q.  
 g. r. a. t. i. a. s.

A a a b c d e f g h  
 k l m n o p q r r l s  
 t v u x y z z g z  
 ater uoster  
 que es iuec  
 lis pancer  
 ficeat nane vnu  
 aduenat regni tr  
 m n fiat voluntas



great men, saints, beasts, birds, monsters, flowers, &c. which sometimes bore a relation to the contents of the page, though often these symbols were not analogous. These embellishments were costly ; but, for those who could not afford to go to the expense of the most superb ornaments, others were made of inferior degrees, to correspond with the ability of the purchaser.\*

The origin of the practice of illuminating is not known. Pliny† informs us, that Varro wrote the lives of seven hundred illustrious Romans, and ornamented their histories with their portraits. Cornelius Nepos,‡ also says, that Pomponius Atticus wrote a work on the actions of great men among the Romans, which he decorated with their portraits. These works are lost. The great libraries in Europe, such as those of the Vatican, at Rome ; St. Mark's, at Venice ; the royal libraries at Paris ; the Escorial, in Spain ; St. James's and the Bodleian libraries, in England ; and several others, have in them vast numbers of manuscripts of Roman and even Grecian art. In the year 1731, a most lamentable accident happened at the Cottonian library on the 25th of October. A fire broke out, which did considerable damage ; and among the manuscripts and books which were injured, was that of Genesis in manuscript. That work contained two hundred and fifty curious paintings in water colors ; and, unfortunately, only twenty or thirty fragments of this invaluable work escaped the fire. Lambecius has made a catalogue of the imperial library at

\* Luckombe. † Nat. Hist. lib. 35. cap. 2. ‡ Opera. cap. 18.

Vienna, from which it appears he found some drawings nearly as ancient as those of the Cotton library. The Vatican Virgil, which was made in the fourth century, is ornamented with drawings of the subjects which are descanted on by the Roman poet. A copy of the gospels was carried into England by St. Augustine, in the sixth century, to each of which a miniature drawing is prefixed. This work is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in England. There are specimens of the state of the arts in England, from the seventh century, downward, to be found in the libraries of the two universities; and others, particularly in that of the British museum, which shew the progress made in the illumination of books, as long as the practice continued in fashion.

# CHINA.



## *Origin and Practice of the Art.*

IT is acknowledged by all writers on the origin of Printing, that the art was first practised by the Chinese. The precise epocha when it was invented, cannot be ascertained. The Chinese assign a date to its origin, which is anterior to the promulgation of Christianity. Some historians, of other nations, who have attempted to ascertain the fact, admit that the Chinese practised Printing as early as the sixth century; others, among whom is Phil. Couplet, who has always been considered by the learned as a very accurate historian, ascribe the invention, in China, to the year 930.\* The celebrated Meerman, in his history of Printing, mentions that "The Historia Sinensis of Abdalla, written in Persic in 1317, speaks of it as an art in very common use." And, indeed, as the art is so useful, and, as practised in China, so simple, we cannot have a doubt that it was, at least, coeval with many other arts; which, though less needful, and more complicated and intricate in practice, are very generally acknowledged to have been in use, in that great

\* Brit. Encyc. Vol. 15.

and very ancient empire, for many ages previous to a knowledge of similar arts in Europe.\*

The latest account of Chinese Printing, is given by sir George Staunton, who was attached to the embassy of lord Macartney, to the court of Pekin, in 1793.

He informs us, that "the art was, probably, practised at a very early period of the empire; and, may have contributed to preserve its government, in a nearly uniform state, to the present time.

Sir George Staunton's account of Chinese Printing, agrees with the accounts given us by the learned disciples of Ignatius Loyola,† who long resided in China, and others, who have written on the arts and manufactures of that country. His is, however, more circumstantial on the subject of Printing, than any other which I have had an opportunity of reading.

Mr. Winterbotham, who, to enable him to compile "An historical, geographical and philosophical

\* The abbé Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, tome 1. p. 151, says of the Chinese—"Il leur faut des siècles pour perfectionner quelque chose; et quand on pense à l'état où se trouvoient chez eux les arts et les sciences il y a trois cens ans, on est convaincu de l'étonnant durée de cet empire." The same argument will apply to the antiquity of their language, and the art of Printing among them; in which they have not for many ages made any improvement, because, "La langue des Chinois demande une étude longue et pénible, qui occupe des hommes tout entiers durant le cours de leur vie."

† Ignatius Loyola was founder of the order of jesuits. He was born anno 1491, died in 1556; and, was canonized by Paul V, anno 1609.

View of the Chinese Empire," consulted the various writers of Chinese history, as well as some of the gentlemen who were in the suite of lord Macartney, in treating of the literature and arts of that country, gives an account of Printing, similar to the narrations of the other writers I have mentioned. From these authorities, the process of Chinese Printing is ascertained to be as follows.—They first write, or draw, a fair copy of the work intended to be printed; it is then given to the engraver, or, more properly, the carver, who glues the leaves of the manuscript upon a piece of hard board, or plank, properly prepared, on which he traces over, with a suitable instrument, the strokes of the writing; carves out the characters, in relief, and cuts down the intermediate parts of the wood; therefore, the beauty of the letters depends on the dexterity of the person who writes the copy. The adroitness of the carver is such, that he copies every stroke exactly; his work is sometimes so neatly executed, it is difficult to distinguish a book that is printed, from one which is written. The board, thus carved, or engraved, generally contains the characters for two pages. When the work of the carver is completed, it is taken by the printer, laid level, and fixed in that position. The printer being provided with two brushes, he takes that which is hardest, dips it into the ink, and therewith lays the ink on the carved board in such manner as to have a quantity which will be exactly sufficient for four or five impressions, as he does not ink the board for every impression. When the board has received as much ink as the artist judges to be sufficient, he lays on

the paper; and, with the other brush, which is of an oblong figure, and softer than the first, he presses the paper upon the board, by gently drawing the brush over it, with a force, which is a little increased for each impression, until the ink, put on the letters, is all taken off by the paper. In this mode of performing the business, one man is able to throw off several thousand copies in a day.

The ink, the Chinese use for printing, is made in a peculiar manner; and is different from their common sort, which they roll in oblong sticks or cakes.

After an edition of a book is printed off, the plates, or carved boards, are collected together; and, it is generally mentioned in the preface, where they are deposited, in case a second edition should be wanted.

The paper they use for printing, is not sized by any glutinous liquid; it is too thin and weak to receive distinct impressions on both sides; therefore, no more than one side is printed. For this reason, the printed sheets, when they are to be bound into books, are taken separately and doubled; the blank sides touching each other; and, they are folded so exactly, as to make the extremities of one page correspond with those of the other, as is the method with our bookbinders; but, contrary to our mode of binding, all the single edge sare placed so as to form the back of the book; the folds make the front, and are never cut. Their books are, generally, covered with neatly manufactured, colored pasteboard. Those who wish to have them done out of the common way, cover the pasteboard with



rich and elegant fancy colored silk, or satin; and, sometimes, with gold and silver brocade, &c. The folded edges of the leaves are left plain.

It has been thought by printers in Europe, and others, that moveable types would answer a better purpose for the Chinese, than their method of carving characters on wooden plates, or blocks; but, until they invent something like an alphabet, of which their words, or characters, may be composed, moveable types cannot be of great use to them. They are not without the knowledge of separate types; though such as they use are cut in wood; and, when the same characters frequently occur, as is often the case in the Calendars and Gazettes, they occasionally insert those separate types, in places fitted to receive them in the wooden plates, on which the other part of the Gazette, Calendar, &c. is carved; or, otherwise, fix them for the purpose for which they are wanted. They have no alphabet, from which they can form words as we do. Their words are represented by characters; and, these characters have been usually said to be 80,000 in number; but, from the Dictionary which was made by the emperor Cam Hi, who lived in the time of king Charles II, of England, it appears, that their characters do actually amount to the number of 120,000.\*

\* This fact has been ascertained by doctor Benjamin Carter, son of John Carter, esq. of Providence, Rhodeisland; who, having been some time in China, acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language, and brought one of Cam Hi's dictionaries over with him.

A compositor, in our printing houses, easily distinguishes the various letters, &c. of an alphabetic language ; he at once sees where each is to be found in the type cases before him ; he distinguishes them at a glance ; his hands even acquire the habit of reaching them rapidly without looking for them, as the fingers learn to touch the keys of a harpsichord, without turning the eyes toward them ; were there many thousands of such keys, it is obvious that no such habit could be acquired ; nor could the keys be within reach.”\* It would be equally inconvenient to print with an hundred and twenty thousand different characters ; especially, as many types or characters of the same denomination would be wanted, which would increase them to a prodigious number. It has not, it seems, occurred to the Chinese artists to make moveable and separate types for parts of characters, which, when placed together, would form whole characters, as is the practice of European founders, with their types for music. But this mode would be attended with greater difficulty, in a printing house, than casts of whole characters ; because, a great increase of numbers would be necessary ; and, consequently, the labor and inconveniences of a compositor would be augmented. He could not use them with the same facility that a Chinese carver of characters forms them on wooden plates. It is admitted, that separate types, cast for the whole, or the parts of characters, would answer for any work until worn

\* Staunton's Embassy to China, Vol. 2. p. 295, London 4to. edition.

down; but, it must be considered, that they would be much more expensive than the carved, or engraved plates which are now used. Hence it appears, that, unless the Chinese form an alphabet, and substitute it for their characters, they cannot prosecute the business of Printing with more ease and expedition, or with less expense, than by the process they have adopted, and practised for centuries past.

Winterbotham mentions, that a work which is printed and published every three months, in Peking, intitled, "The State of China," is altered, or corrected, at each time of publication, by means of moveable wooden characters, in the mode before described. He adds, that some "very small works are printed in the same manner."\*

As we have so little information respecting that interesting country, where strangers cannot travel, but by permission, which is obtained with great difficulty, all authentic intelligence respecting it—particularly the state of its arts, and, above all, the art of Printing, cannot fail to excite attention. For this reason, I will here insert a few passages from authors of the highest reputation, respecting Chinese publications.

Like the capital cities of European kingdoms, "Peking the capital of the Chinese empire, is furnished with a Gazette, which circulates into the remotest provinces, and which is even considered, by the administration, as an essential part of the political constitution. It is printed daily; and, contains

\* View of the Chinese empire. P. 415.

an account of all those objects to which the attention of administration is directed. In this Gazette, may be seen the names of all those delinquents who are punished with death, and of the officers appointed to fill the places of the disgraced mandarins;—the relief given by government; and the expenses incurred by administration, for the subsistence of the troops, supplying the wants of the people, repairing, or erecting, public works; and, lastly, the remonstrances made to the sovereign by the superior tribunals, either with regard to his public decisions or private conduct; and, sometimes, even with relation to both. Nothing, however, is contained in this Gazette, which has not immediately come from the emperor, or been submitted to his inspection; and, immediate death would be the consequence of inserting a falsehood in this ministerial paper.”\*

“Gazettes are frequently published in Peking, under the authority of government. The various appointments throughout the empire, the favors granted by the emperor, all his public acts, his remission of taxes to districts suffering by dearth, or other general calamity; his recompenses of extraordinary services; the embassies sent, and the tribute paid to him, form a considerable part of the public news. The domestic details of his household, or of his private life, are seldom, if ever, mentioned. Singular events, instances of longevity, sometimes the punishments of offences, committed by mandarins, are there recorded. Even,

\* Encyclopedia, American edition. Vol. iv. p. 676.

sometimes, instances of the adultery of women, which is a punishable, though not a capital offence ; are occasionally published, perhaps, by way of deterring others from the commission of the like enormities. While China was at war, its victories, as well as the suppression of rebellions, were announced. In all other cases the world, in point of intelligence, is confined to China. Beside the classic works of the Chinese, of which the multiplication by Printing is prodigious ; the lighter literature of the country gives no inconsiderable occupation to the press.

“Notwithstanding the vigilant police of the Chinese magistrates, books disapproved by them, are, in various instances, privately printed and disseminated in China. It is not easy to prevent, or even always to detect, the operations of a trade, which, beside paper and ink, requires little more than some pieces of board, and a knife to cut the characters upon them. The books thus published, privately, are chiefly those which are offensive to decency, and inflame the imaginations of youth. It is not said, that any are levelled against the government. The political, moral, and historical works of the Chinese, contain no abstract ideas of liberty, which might lead them to the assertion of independence.

“The art of Printing, has been the mean of diffusing, universally, and establishing among all ranks of men, certain fixed principles of right, and rules of moral rectitude, which serve as so many dykes, or barriers, against the tumult of human passions, and restrain the propensities of conquerors

in the plenitude of power. At every change in the governments of the neighboring countries, not so circumstanced, success, like a torrent, sweeps before it, and levels all former arrangements of society; but, in China, institutions and opinions, survive the wreck of revolutions. The sovereign may be removed, his whole family cut off; but, the manners and conditions of the people remain the same. The throne itself is supported by maxims from the press; the virtues of its possessor are blazoned by it to all his subjects. It gives him the vast advantage of directing their sentiments as he thinks fit. His palaces, his gardens, his magnificence, create no envy toward a prince represented to be endowed with the most transcendent qualities; and to be employed, without intermission, in promoting the happiness of his people.”\*

Dictionaries, almanacks, and novels which are, generally, simple and interesting, are allowed to be published in China; and, permission has been given to the Christian missionaries, who visited that country, to publish several religious works in the Chinese language.

Dr. Ducarel, commissary general of the city and diocese of Canterbury, keeper of Lambeth library, &c. had a collection of specimens of Chinese ingenuity, among which, Nichols,† in 1776,

\* Staunton's Embassy. Vol. 2.

† Nichols's Orig. of Printing, p. 300. Bowyer and Nichols were two eminent printers in London, whose account of Printing was introduced into the Encyclopedia. As many writers on Printing will be mentioned in the course of this work,

saw a Chinese book, in which all the miracles recorded in the New Testament, are exhibited, printed from wooden blocks; our Savior, the apostles, and all persons therein mentioned, are dressed in Chinese habits. The jesuit missionary, probably, gave the Chinese block cutter an European book, with prints, for him to copy; and directed him to dress the figures in the fashion of his country, as being most pleasing to its inhabitants.

I will make the reader acquainted with some of them who are modern, viz.—Dr. Conyers Middleton, keeper of the public library at Cambridge, in England, was celebrated for his learning, and acquaintance with ancient typography.—The Rev. Mr. Lewis, an English author, who has written much on the subject.—Joseph Ames, esq. fellow of the Royal Society, and secretary to the Antiquarian Society, who, in 1749, published a large quarto volume of *The History of Printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and has given more particular and minute details of English typographical antiquities, than any other author.—Andrew Coltee Ducarel, L.L.D. commissary general of the city and diocese of Canterbury, and F.R.A.S. of England.—Mr. Palmer, who wrote a history of Printing in Europe.—M. Maittaire, a very respectable French writer, and author of *Annales Typographici*.—John Enchedi, a well educated printer, in Holland, who made great researches to ascertain the origin of the art in Europe, and published a treatise on the subject.—P. Luckombe, M.T.A. author of *The History and Art of Printing in England*.—C. Stowers, author of *The Printer's Grammar, and History of Printing*, lately published in England; a work which may be very serviceable, not only to master printers, but to journeymen and apprentices.—Gerard Meerman, mentioned p. 68; who, when in England in 1759, received the degree of doctor of civil law at the university of Oxford.

In the curious and extensive collection of George Perry, Esq. F. A. S. in England, was a number of admirable specimens of Chinese printing, which demonstrate the zeal and the genius of the jesuits. Among those specimens was a book intitled, "*Sinurum Scientia Politico—Moralis, a P. Prospero Intocretta, siculo, Societatis Jesu, in lucem editu.*" Part of the book was printed at Canton, and the other part at Goa. The license of the vice provincial of the order is dated "In urbe Quàm Chêu metropoli Sinensi provinciae Quàm tùm, die 31, mensis Julii, anni, 1667." After a preface, printed at Goa, with Roman types, there is a second title, viz. "*Scientia Sinciae liber secundus. Châm medium. Yûm constanter tenendem Versio literalis.*" Then follow twelve double leaves in Chinese characters, with a Latin version, in Roman characters, all cut in blocks in the Chinese manner, printed at Canton; and fourteen single leaves in the European manner, printed at Goa. In the translation of this latter part, both the Chinese and Latin are printed with separate types. The Roman types are of metal coarsely cast; and, those of the Chinese, are cut on wood. The volume closes with the life of Confucius, in Latin, with several Chinese words interspersed; and, an additional license.\*

\* Nichols's Origin of Printing, p. 286.



## EUROPE.



### *Discovery and Progress of Printing.*

IF we consider the remote periods in which the arts and sciences began to flourish in Europe, we shall think it remarkable, that, previous to the fifteenth century, no method of multiplying copies of the works of the learned, or of communicating past and present events, should have been practised, except by the slow operation of the pen of the scribe, the pencil of the painter, or the chisel of the sculptor; especially, as China, where the art of Printing has been practised for a thousand years, was not unknown to Europe.

Bacon says, *Homo naturæ minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, re, vel mente observaverit: nec amplius scit, aut potest.* Perhaps the European world was influenced by this maxim; or, other sufficient reasons might be given for the slow progress of this discovery. In ancient times, we may believe, there were not many readers of books, although the number who purchased them was not small; and, it was a business, a trade, to copy them.

The scribes formed a numerous fraternity ; and, were much interested in preventing the introduction of any new practice, or art, which would take from them their bread. They had brought their art to great perfection ; and no one, *who is not acquainted* with ancient manuscripts, can have a just idea of the neatness of their performances. The forms and sizes of the types for Printing, were taken from the letters as written by the scribes, just as the copper-plate engravers now engrave from written copies. In short, Printing, for a considerable length of time, as has been observed by a British writer, was “ as much the *counterfeit*, as it was the *substitute* of writing ;” being the *fac simile* of the hand writing of the most approved scribes.

Should we even admit, that some method of printing was known in ancient times, we cannot wonder that the common use of the art met with successful opposition. That, at least, a partial knowledge of the art existed many centuries ago, is probable. Seals, or signets, must have been in common use before the time of Moses, for they are mentioned very familiarly ; and, directions are given for engraving precious stones. We find, that Bezael, and Aholiab *an engraver and a cunning workman—wrought onyx stones inclosed in ouches of gold* ; GRAVEN AS SIGNETS ARE GRAVEN, *with the names of the children of Israel*.\* We further find, that they were in the habit of engraving the sardius, topaz, carbuncle, emerald, sapphire, ligure, agate, amethyst, beryl, jasper ; and, the *diamond*,

\* Exodus, xxxix. 6. 14.

(which, it seems, no one can now engrave;) for it is said, that these *stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet, every one with his name, according to the twelve tribes.* Hence it is evident, that engravings were made in stones as well as metal; and, we may suppose, therefore, impressions were taken from the engravings, and, consequently, the first principles of printing known, even in those early ages.

Homer is called the most ancient author of all the heathen world; and from his writings, particularly from his description of the shield of Achilles, it is sufficiently evident, that the art of engraving and embossing was carried to a very great degree of perfection in his time. Had he never seen engravings in metal, it is next to impossible that he could have given a description, so exact in all its proportions, as is that of which we are speaking. In the centre of the shield, he describes the earth, with the sun revolving round it—the full moon—the signs of the zodiac—with several of the constellations. Round that picture he describes twelve others, in twelve separate compartments, representing, first, a marriage; second, an assembly of the people; third, a senate; fourth, a beleagured town, with a sally of the besieged; fifth, shepherds and their flocks fallen into an ambuscade; sixth, a battle; seventh, tillage; eighth, a harvest; ninth, a vintage; tenth, lions and herds of cattle; eleventh, sheep; twelfth, the dance; and, round the whole, he represented the ocean.\* As most of the poets

\* Homer's Iliad. B. 18.

took their images from the labors of the painters, sculptors, &c. we may conclude Homer did the same. Indeed, from his own words it amounts to a certainty; for he acknowledges, that his representation of the dance, on the shield, is similar to one made at Gnossvs, by the renowned Dædalus, for the queen of Crete.

In like manner, if we examine the historians and poets of all succeeding ages, we shall find materials to justify the opinion, that the art of engraving has been known from time immemorial; and, that although Maso Finiguerra, and the other Florentine engravers, made some innovations and improvements in the art, they were, by no means, the inventors of it; and, we may reasonably believe, that though the art of Printing was not brought to any great degree of maturity, the means for performing it were not entirely unknown; especially, as it is so nearly allied to engraving.

Ulphilas, who flourished about the year of Christ 370, became the apostle of the Goths, and converted many of them to Christianity. At that period, the Goths used the Runic characters; but, as those characters had been used in magic incantations, Ulphilas would not employ them in the cause of Christianity; he, therefore, invented new characters, which were called the Mæso Gothic; and into that language he translated the Bible. A large part of this identical version of Ulphilas, was found, many years ago, in the abbey of Werden, in Westphalia. It was carried from that place to Prague, where it was discovered by the Swedes, in 1648, who conveyed it to their queen, Christiana; and, it is

now deposited in the library of the university of Upsal. The Swedish antiquarian, Ihre, who has published an edition of the remains of this ancient work, gives it as his opinion, that the letters in the original were made by hot metal types, in the manner the backs of books are lettered; for the letters, except the initials, are all of silver; and thence the work is called the *Codex Argenteus*—the initials are of gold. Carr, who examined this book, supposed the letters were made by the pencil; which, probably, was the fact; although, it is not impossible that types, of some sort, were known in the days of Ulphilas; but, in the dark ages which succeeded, that knowledge might have been obscured, or extinguished. [6] We cannot, however, be certain that the Dutch and German printers, to whom we ascribe the merit of the invention, had not a knowledge of this work of Ulphilas; or even of the existence of some kind of types; and, of the Chinese method of printing, which had existed from 500 to 700 years at least, before the time of Laurentius or Geinsfleiche.

If the Dutch and German printers *did* make a *new*, and a *second* discovery of the art, it is strange that the mechanical management of the business, should have been exactly the same as had been so long known and practised in China. It is not impossible that the art of Printing, on the European continent, should have been discovered by accident. This has been asserted by all writers on the subject, excepting those to whom the credit of the invention is given; they have said but little respecting it; and some doubts will always remain on the mind,

whether some information concerning the Chinese method of printing, had not been communicated to him who first, as is commonly supposed, attempted the business in Europe.

Great disputes have arisen, respecting the place where the art was first discovered and practised, in Europe; and, who made the discovery. Almost as many cities have contested the honor of the invention, as ever contended for being the birth place of Homer. Didymus, it is said, wrote hundreds of volumes, chiefly with a view to determine that question; and, perhaps, his works may be outnumbered before the true origin of Printing is ascertained. In the midst of this uncertainty, however, I proceed to state such facts, as are the result of accurate disquisitions on this well canvassed subject; those that are admitted, are as follow.

1. That the cities of Haerlem, in Holland, and Mentz and Strasburg, in Germany, all claim the honor of being the birth place of the art of Printing.

2. That Laurentius, sometimes called Coster, Koster, or Kustos, has the best claim to the honor of the discovery, which was made about the year 1429; or, as several writers state, not earlier than 1422, nor later than 1436.

3. That he lived at Haerlem, was a man of large property, had a lucrative office under the government, and there practised printing in its original rude state.

4. That Laurentius, for some time after he began printing, used wooden blocks, or plates, on which he engraved, or carved, in pages, &c. the

words for several small works ; in some of which were pictures, cut in the blocks with the words. These he printed only on one side of vellum, or paper, and doubled and pasted the leaves together, thus forming them into books. After practising this way for a few years, he invented and used separate wooden types, but never attempted to cut or cast types in metal.

5. That Laurentius employed several servants in his business ; among whom was John Geinsfleiche, senior. There were two brothers of that name—the younger was sometimes distinguished by the name of Guttenburg. He was an ingenious artist, and lived at Strasburg.

6. That John Geinsfleiche, senior, communicated, first, the theory of the art ; and, afterward the practice of it, to his younger brother ; whom, for the sake of distinction, I shall, hereafter, call Guttenburg.

7. That Laurentius followed printing during the remainder of his life ; and that, after his death, the business was continued in his family at Haerlem, for many years.

8. That John Geinsfleiche, the servant of Laurentius, about the time that his master died, with the aid of a fellow servant who was his accomplice, took an opportunity, on a festival, to steal a considerable part of his master's wooden types, with other parts of his printing apparatus, and absconded ; and having conveyed his plunder to Mentz, his native place, he there commenced printing, about the year 1440, with the types he had stolen from his master.

9. That after Geinsfleiche settled at Mentz, he was assisted with money, &c. by John Fust, alias Faust, alias Faustus, a rich and very respectable man; who, consequently, shared the profits with Geinsfleiche. Fust and Geinsfleiche afterward formed a company, and admitted as a partner John Meidenbachius, with some other persons.

10. That Guttenburg, the younger brother of Geinsfleiche, continued at Strasburg till 1444, and was in various employments; but he made great efforts toward attaining the art of Printing with cut metal types. He could not, however, bring the art to any degree of perfection. It is believed by some, that he, and the partners with whom he was concerned, printed a few very small works. Their performances, have all disappeared; and, as far as is known, have been entirely destroyed. Although, whilst at Strasburg, Guttenburg had made considerable progress in improving the art; yet, having quarrelled with his partners, and being involved in law suits, he quitted that city, and joined his brother at Mentz.

11. The two brothers had the management of the printing business at Mentz; and they united their endeavors to form a fount of metal types, with cut faces. Their method of making these types was, first to cast the shanks, or bodies, to a suitable size, and afterward to engrave, or cut, the letters on them.\* After a labor of several years, they accomplished the undertaking; and in 1450 a part of the

\* Polydore Virgil mentions, that metal types, with cut faces, were first thought of in 1442.



Bible appeared from their press, which was printed with those types. The same year, and very soon after they began to work with those types, the partnership between the brothers, Fust, and company, was dissolved; and a connexion between Fust and Guttenburg commenced; but a difference between them arising, an action at law was instituted by Fust, for money advanced to Guttenburg; and, their joint concern in business ended in 1455. After this, Guttenburg was assisted by Conrad Humery, syndic of Mentz, and others; and, this new company opened another printing house in that city. Fust also continued the business; and took into partnership one of his servants, called Peter Schoeffer; an ingenious man, who had become very skilful in the printing business.

12. That Schoeffer, in 1456, completed the invention of metallic types, by casting them with faces. "He privately *cut matrices* for the whole alphabet; and, when he shewed his master the types cast from these matrices, Fust was so much pleased that he gave Schoeffer his only daughter in marriage." There were, at first, many difficulties with these types as there had been with those of wood, and those that were cut on metal. One was owing to the softness of the metal, which would not bear forcible pressing; but this defect, as well as some others, was soon remedied. The first book printed with the improved types was *Durandi Rationale*. It was not finished till 1459.

These facts give us a clear idea of the rise and progress of the art, until it was, in a great measure, brought to perfection, by the invention and use of metal types, cast with faces.

It will now be proper to make some further inquiry respecting the manner in which the art was discovered; and, the claims of the cities of Haerlem, Mentz and Strasburg, to the honor of having made the discovery.

Hadrian Junius\* ascribes the invention of Printing to Laurentius. Some have controverted his authority; but, it has been, eventually, very generally admitted to be indisputable. This Junius relates, that Laurentius was the son of John Laurentius, who held the reputable office of *Custos*, or edituus, of the cathedral church in Haerlem; which circumstance occasioned the epithet of *Custos* or *Koster*, to be added to his name. Others mention Laurentius the younger, merely by the additament of *Koster*. Junius explained—That he received this information from his schoolmaster, Nicholas Galius, and, from Quirinius Talesius,† his acquaintance

\* In his *Batavia*. p. 253. ed. Ludg. 1588. Hadrian Junius was born at Horn, in Holland, in 1511. He was at first rector of the Latin school, and teacher of natural philosophy at Haerlem, where he composed a Greek and Latin Lexicon, to which he added 6500 words:—He wrote also *Animadversa et de Coma Commentarius*, which was greatly applauded. His history of Holland is written in elegant Latin. He was the author of many other works; became a learned physician; and practised for some time with much reputation in England, where he was esteemed a man of great integrity and impartiality. Vide *Biographie Generale des Pays Bas*. Art. Jun.—*Encyc.* vol. 9. &c.

† Quirinius was many years amanuensis to the learned Erasmus, as appears by his epistle dated July 23, 1529. *Opera*. Tom. iii. p. 1222. In 1537, he was *scabinus*; and consul in

and correspondent; both of whom were men of respectable characters.—That Galius had his testimony immediately from Cornelius, who was a fellow servant with the elder Geinsfleiche and others, to Laurentius the younger, when he practised the art of Printing.—This Cornelius, after the death of his master, Laurentius, was bookbinder to the cathedral of Haerlem; a branch of business which had, long before, been performed by the Franciscan friars;—that he lived to a great age; and, according to the register of that cathedral, died in 1515;—and, that he was a very conscientious man, and often spoke with sorrow of the loss his master had sustained by the roguery of Geinsfleiche, his fellow servant, associate and bed fellow.

The account they gave of the discovery of Printing, is as follows.—“Laurentius went to walk in a wood near the city (as the citizens of opulence used to do) and when there, he began at first to cut some letters upon the rind of a beech tree, which for fancy’s sake he afterwards set and ranked in order, and put with their heels upward upon paper, and so impressed or printed on paper, one or two copies, as specimens for his grandchildren (the sons of his daughter) to follow in writing. This having happily succeeded, he meditated greater things, as he was a man of ingenuity and judgment; and, first of all, with his son in law Thomas Pieter, invented a more glutinous ink, because he found the common ink sink and spread, and then formed whole pages

1552. He lived during the troubles in the Low Countries; and was killed by the Spanish soldiers in 1573. Some have written his name Salesius.

of wood with letters cut upon them ; of which sort I have seen some essays in an anonymous work printed only on one side, in which it is remarkable that in the infancy of printing (as nothing is complete at its first invention) the back sides of the pages were pasted together,\* that they might not by their nakedness betray their deformity. This book was entitled *Speculum nostræ salutis*."

Junius then goes on to mention Gerard Thomas, whom he knew, a person of great reputation, and a great grandson to Laurentius, who gave him a similar account of the invention of printing to that which he had received from Galius. Junius observes, "A new invention never fails to engage curiosity ; and, when a commodity, which was uncommon, excited purchasers, to the advantage of the inventor, the admiration of the art increased ; dependants, workmen and servants were multiplied—the first calamitous incident ; among them was one John, unfaithful and unlucky to his master. This man, bound by oath to keep the secret of Printing ; when he thought he had learned the art of joining the letters, the method of making the types and other things of that nature, taking the most convenient time that was possible, on a Christmas eve, when every one was customarily employed in lustal sacrifices, seizes a collection of types, and other implements of printing, and, with one accomplice, marches off to Amsterdam, from thence to Cologne, and at last settled at Mentz, as at an assylum of se-

\* This account of the first printing in Europe, proves the method to be similar to that practised by the Chinese.

curity, where he might go to work with the tools he had stolen.\* It is certain that in a year's time, viz. in 1442, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus, a grammar which was much used at that time, together with the *Tracts* of Peter of Spain, came forth there also, from the same types that Laurentius had made use of at Haerlem." This is the substance of the account which Junius tells us he received from Nicholas Galius, to whom it was related by Cornelius ; and from Quirinus Talesius his intimate friend.†

Petrus Scriverius, an early writer on the discovery of Printing, gives an account substantially the same as that of Cornelius. He says ; " Laurentius walking in the wood, picked up a small bough of a beech, or rather of an oak tree, which had been broken off by the wind. He sat down and amused himself with cutting some letters on it ; and wrapped up, in paper, the part he had thus engraven. He afterward fell asleep, and when he awaked, he perceived that the paper, having been moistened by a shower of rain, or some other accident, had received an impression from the letters he had engraven ; which induced him to pursue the accidental discovery."

No one but Laurentius himself could tell how he discovered the art ; and, it is probable, he gave

\* " It is not to be supposed that Geinsfleiche carried off the whole printing apparatus of his master ; but a part of his types, and such things as were necessary for specimens to form others by," &c. Nichols's Orig. Print.

† Meerman. Orig. Print.

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the accounts, related by Junius and Scriverius, to his friends and servants ; but let this matter be as it may, the truth of his being the first who made use of it in Europe, must have been known to many. The fact is well supported by abundance of testimony produced by Gerard Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicae* ; and, by other credible writers.

Respecting the claim of Mentz to the invention of Printing, it is agreed by the best writers that it cannot be admitted. But the invention of metal types, both with cut and cast faces, is certainly due to that city ; and this is, unquestionably, the most important of all the branches connected with the typographical art ; for all the subsequent improvements are of minor importance.

In regard to the claim of Strasburg to the invention of metal types, I cannot agree, altogether, with Meerman and others who assert, that it is entirely without foundation. It is admitted by those who oppose the pretensions of Strasburg, that Guttenburg, the brother of Geinsfleiche, was, for several years, employed in endeavoring to attain the art of Printing ; and, it could not be meant simply printing from wooden blocks ; for it is proved, that Guttenburg and his partners were at such great expense of time and money, in attempting the business, that they became bankrupts. It appears from an authentic record of a judicial decree of the senate of Strasburg in 1439, that Guttenburg and his associates engaged in the business about the year 1436 ; and European writers admit, that Guttenburg persevered in his endeavors to become mas-

ter of the art, until he left Strasburg in 1444, when he joined his brother at Mentz. They all allow that metal types were the invention of the two brothers Geinsfleiche and Guttemberg. They further admit, that Guttemberg was more ingenious than Geinsfleiche in the mechanical arts; but they are silent as to which of the two invented the cut face metal types. Geinsfleiche did not use metal types till after his brother joined him at Mentz; it is, therefore, as some writers mention, highly probable that Guttemberg was employed, at Strasburg, in endeavoring to complete the cut face metal types; but that for want of a more accurate knowledge of the art of Printing, which he could only obtain from his brother, he failed in his attempts till he joined Geinsfleiche at Mentz; where, by their united endeavors, they became successful. So that, although Guttemberg did not accomplish what he had long labored to complete at Strasburg; yet, it is almost certain, that he performed some printing, either from blocks, or moveable wooden types, or from those of metal with engraved faces, in the course of several years that it appears he was employed in that business, before he removed to Mentz. No proof to the contrary has been produced. And, as he was engaged in cutting metal types long before any thing was printed at Mentz, this circumstance may, in some measure, justify the claim of Strasburg to the invention of metallic types; and, even her pretensions that the art of Printing was practised in that city before it was known at Mentz.

The claims of the three cities have, however, been determined, and arranged by Meerman, Nichols, &c. as follow—the discovery, and first rudiments of the art, are allotted to Laurentius of Haerlem ;—the invention and improvement of the moveable, cut face, metal types by Geinsfleiche, senior, and his brother Guttenburg, and the completion of the business by the invention of metal types, cast with faces, by Schoeffer—to which operations John Fust, or Faust, had the honor of contributing by his liberality—the merit of this is given to Mentz ;—but the claim of Strasburg, they set aside, as altogether unsupported, and unsupportable.

It is not strange that the origin of an art which has given light to all other arts, should be involved in obscurity ; when we consider what has been observed by Meerman, Maittaire, and many others, who have written on the subject, viz. “ that Printing was invented as a more expeditious method of multiplying books than by writing, which it was at first designed to counterfeit ;” and, consequently, was concealed from motives of private interest, rather than revealed to the honor of the first inventor ; and the advantage of the public.

The Psalter, printed by Fust and Schoeffer, at Mentz, in 1457, is celebrated for the beauty of its typography ; and, although it is difficult to believe, that an art, so complicated, could be brought to so high a degree of perfection in the course of fifteen or sixteen years, from so rude a beginning ; yet, such is the fact.



I will here remark, that the Psalter of Fust and Schoeffer, is the first book to which any printers put their names, or which is known to have a genuine date ; but, from that time, it became common for printers to ascertain the works they printed by putting their names, and the date when the work was executed, in an imprint at the end of the volume.

Having stated the facts respecting the discovery of the art of Printing in *Europe*, as they are related by the best authors ; and given an account of Printing through its several stages, from wooden blocks, to separate wooden types ; and from cut face wooden and metal types, to its completion with metal types cast with faces ; I will now proceed with an account of the earliest printers ; taking them in the order of time in which they arose.

## HOLLAND.

JOHANNES LAURENTIUS ; alias LAURENCE ZANSEN, alias COSTER, alias KOSTUS, or KOSTER, alias LAWRENTZ JAN KOSTER ; of *HARLEM*.

THIS is the person to whom the writers on the origin of Printing give the credit of first discovering the art in Europe. His real name is said to be Johannes Laurentius ; and, as I have before remarked, the addition of Coster, Kostus, &c. is a mere title of office, which was given to his father ;

who was, by the citizens of Haerlem, elected their edituus or custos, according to a privilege granted to them by count Albert of Bavaria. In a diploma signed by count Albert, in 1390, the father of Laurentius is mentioned by the name of Johannes Laurentii filius.\*

Laurentius, the printer, was born at Haerlem, about the year 1370, from an illegitimate branch of the Gens Brederodia. He was edituus, or custos, after his father, and was, at different times, appointed to several departments of the magistracy. His offices are said to have been very lucrative. He was religious; a man of great property; and, lived in a splendid style,† in a fashionable house, at Haerlem, in the market place, opposite the royal palace, now the town house.

I have already related the manner in which, it is said, he made the important discovery that led to the art of Printing. According to the best accounts given of him, he must then have been about fifty nine years of age. He practised the art eleven years; and, during that time, he made great improvement in it. The precise date of the discovery, cannot be determined; but, it is believed to be about the year 1429. Scriverius, whose testimony has not been disputed, when mentioning the year in which Laurentius died, i. e. 1440, observes, that his discovery was made about ten or twelve years before that period. He further mentions, that soon after Laurentius had developed the first principles of the art, he exhibited some rude specimens of his

\* Meerman's Orig. Typog.

† Ibid.

performances. Junius gives a more particular account, which was derived from the servants of Laurentius ; and, afterward, describes some of those specimens, which he saw. One of them was the *Horarium*.

More modern writers inform us of some of the early productions of Laurentius's invention, seen by them. Among the manuscripts relating to Haerlem, in St. John's college, Oxford, is a letter from John Laughton, esq. an English gentleman, who visited Holland in 1699, which is dated Amsterdam, June 23, 1699. Its contents are as follow. "I made some stay at Haerlem, and visited the learned antiquary Van Dalen ; he received me with abundance of humanity, and shewed me all his collections of antiquities, which are very numerous, and many extremely curious. He introduced me to a young lady there, born deaf and dumb, yet taught to speak and read, very intelligibly, both Dutch and Latin. Her preceptor is Dr. Amand, a German ; she is the only child of a very rich merchant. I was very desirous of seeing the first book printed here by Coster, of which we have had many false accounts in England. It is kept in a chest in the Stadthouse ; and the masters keep the key, which we procured, and found the book to be a Dutch piece of theology, with cuts, printed on only one side of the paper. We saw, also, one leaf of Latin, intitled, 'Liber vitæ Alexandri Magni,' that seems to be monkish Latin. These, the Dutch say, were printed 1430, the year he invented the art. There is bound up in the same volume another Dutch piece, said to be printed by Coster in

1432. The time when he invented the art, and the years when those small works were printed, is signified, not on them, but in an inscription under his picture in the room where the books are."

Mr. Ellis, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, published in England, gives an account of small articles said to be printed by Coster, or Laurentius, as early as 1430 or 1432, but they are all without a printed date.

I have been informed, that some specimens of very ancient and unskilful printing are preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford; in that of Bennet's college; and, also in the library of the king of England; they are said to be samples of some of the first essays of Laurentius in the art of Printing, impressed from wooden blocks before he had acquired the art of making ink suitable for the purpose; and, like some other samples, before mentioned, are printed only on one side of the paper, which is doubled, and the pages pasted together. As many frauds have been practised by the artful venders of ancient books; and, as specimens of the printing of Laurentius are very rare, there is no possibility of ascertaining whether these relics are, or are not genuine. If no fraud has been practised, doubtless, these fragments must be allowed to belong to that period when the art of Printing was first attempted.\*

\* Notwithstanding the European virtuosi have been able to make very considerable collections of ancient printed books, yet, such is the scarcity of articles from the press of Laurentius, that in all the curious libraries and cabinets of antiquities,

As no name or date appeared with the books of Laurentius, to shew that they were from his press, only the following can be ascertained to have been printed by him.

*Horarium.* Mentioned before; supposed to have been impressed in 1430 or 1431.

*De Spiegel Onser Behoedinge.* It was printed from wooden types made separately, and executed in a superior manner to the *Horarium*; —it, however, bears evident features of the infancy of Printing. In this work are pictures, impressed from wooden blocks on which they were cut; they are the first that are known to have been introduced into any book, or letter press work. *De Spiegel* is one of the books described by Hadrian Junius; mentioned by Ellis, and by many others. A copy of it has been carefully preserved at Haerlem, and from time to time shewn to the curious. It was seen by Mr. Laughton, in 1699; and, since by Meerman, who has given a fac simile of one of its pages, among other specimens of the printing of Laurentius, in his *Origines Typographicæ*. From the best accounts, it appears to have been printed in 1432.

*Grammatica Donati.* Commonly called *Donatus*. Some fragments of a copy of this book, printed on parchment, were, near three hundred years after the death of Laurentius, discovered by John Es-

to which Meerman extended his researches, he could find only two or three works that were entire and some fragments of others, which were genuine. But he discovered many facts, and detected many errors and impositions. relative to the invention and progress of printing in Europe.

chedi, an ingenious printer in Haerlem. Eschedi had purchased, at a low price, some remains of an ancient library ; among which was a very old Dutch Psalter, that excited his curiosity. On examining the binding of the Psalter, he found, to his surprise, pasted to the cover, part of a copy of this identical edition of Donatus.\*

*Liber Vitæ Alexandri Magni.*

*Speculum Belgium.* Printed about 1438, with moveable wooden types.

*Speculum nostræ Salutis.* This was generally called *Speculum*. It was a Latin version of the *Spiegel Onser Behoedinge*, and said to be printed in 1440, with moveable wooden types.

*Grammatica Donati.* A second edition, of a smaller size than the first ; and, is supposed to have been issued from the press in 1440.

It is believed that he printed many other books, but I do not find that any mention has been made of them by his biographers. All the editions of his works were printed part on vellum and part on parchment. His press was shaped like the common wine presses. He died in 1440, aged 70 years.

It does not appear that Laurentius had any son ; but he had one daughter, whose name was Lucia. She was married to Thomas Pieter, alias Peter Thomas, who, in company with his sons, succeeded Laurentius at Haerlem.

Dr. Wallis† relates that, in the time of Hege- nitz, the house in which Laurentius lived, was still

\* Seiz's Treatise. Published 1740.

† Inquiry into the Origin of Printing.

standing in the market place at Haerlem, with an inscription, in golden letters, over the door, of which the following is a copy.

“ Memoria Sacrum.

Typographicæ Ars, artium Conservatrix, his primum inventa circa, Ann. M.CCCC.XXX.

Vana quid Archetypos, et Præla Moguntia jactas,  
Haerlemi Archetypos, Prælaque nata scias.

Extulit hic, monstrante Deo, Laurentius artem;  
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare Deum est.”

#### THOMAS PIETER AND SONS, of HAERLEM.

THOMAS PIETER son in law of Laurentius, is mentioned by Cornelius, as being concerned with Laurentius in bringing the art of Printing to that degree of perfection, which it attained in his days.

It is said, that Pieter, with his three sons, Peter, Andrew and Thomas, were the successors of Laurentius, and carried on the business several years. Cornelius continued in the family some time after the death of his master; and, assisted Pieter and his sons. Only a few of the books they printed can be identified; as, like Laurentius, they printed for profit, not for fame. They neither put their names to the books, nor added the date when, nor the place where, they were printed. It is, however, agreed, that the sons of Pieter printed new editions of the *Donatus* and the *Speculum*; and, afterwards reprinted the *Speculum* with a Latin translation; in the execution of which work, they used their grand-

father's wooden pictures; and printed the book partly on wooden blocks and partly on wooden separate types. This was done between the years 1442 and 1450.\* After that time they printed several editions of the *Speculum*, both in Latin and Dutch. Copies of four editions of this book are now to be seen in Haerlem.†

The grandsons of Laurentius printed with wooden, separate types, the following books; specimens of which are given by Meerman, viz.

*Historiæ Alexandri Magni.* New edition.

*Flavii Vespasiani, for Vegetii, Renati epitome de re Militari.* And,

*Opera Varia*, Thomas à Kempis. In 1472.

Thomas à Kempis is supposed to be the last book which was issued from the press of Laurentius's descendants; whose industry in improving the art of Printing is sufficiently manifested by the neatness of the editions of their works. They, soon after printing Kempis, disposed of their printing apparatus; this might be owing to the invention and general use of metal types.

Junius mentions, that the three grandsons of Laurentius attained the consular dignity. Peter and Andrew fell in the civil war of 1492.

\* Meerman. Vol. I. p. 150.

† Ibid.



## GERMANY.

JOHN GEINSFLEICHE, the Elder, of *Mentz*.\*

I HAVE before related, that *this* John Geinsfleiche was accused by Cornelius, Hadrian Junius, &c. of having stolen a part of the wooden printing types of his master.

Several credible writers, some of whom lived before Junius, and others his cotemporaries, bear testimony to the fact—that Geinsfleiche robbed Laurentius of his types, and fled with them to Mentz. They give to Laurentius the merit of having discovered the art of Printing; and, confirm the account which has been given by Junius, that Cornelius and Geinsfleiche were servants, at the same time, to Laurentius. The following writers, who corroborate this material part of our history, appear to have derived their information through different channels.†

1. Ulric Zell, almost coeval with Cornelius, was a German. He attained the rudiments of the art, at Mentz, by officiating, as corrector of the press, under Fust and Guttemburg; and was afterwards the first who practised Printing at Cologne. Zell

\* Mentz was, at the period of which I am treating, an imperial city. It was afterward subjected to the crown of France.

† Meerman's Documents, LXXXI—LXXXIV.

published the *Chronicon* of Cologne, a work written under his own inspection ; in which he is profess- edly an advocate in favor of Mentz ; but, he admits, that the foundation of the art was laid at Haerlem.

2. "Zurenus, in Joannis van Zuyren reliquiæ, ex opusculo de perduto cui tit. Zurenus junior, sive de prima, et inaudita hactenus vulgo, et veri- ore tamen artis typographicæ inventione dialogus, nunc primum conscriptus, autore Joan. Zureno, Harlemeo, ad amplissimum virum N. N. asservatæ —a Petr. Scriverio in Laurea Laurentiana, c. ii."

3. "Theodorus Volckardi Coornhertius in dedicatione præmissa versioni Belgicæ Officiorum Ciceronis, edit. Harlem. 1561, atque inscripta con- sulibus, Scabinis, et Senatoribus ejusdem urbis."

4. "Henricus Pantaleon, Lib. de viris illustri- bus Germaniæ, part. ii. Ed. Basil." He mentions two circumstances worthy of notice ; one, of the manner of hiding the types when they were stolen, "eos literas in *sacculis clausis* secum in officinas tulisse, atque abeuntes abstulisse." The other re- lates to the honor paid to the first artists.\*

\* Meerman mentions, that to follow any other manual pro- fession than printing, was accounted a derogation to nobility ; but, that this art conferred honor on its professors. Hence it was very early practised by many who were of noble families, and even by eminent ecclesiastics. "John Guttenburg was, in 1465, received *inter aulicos* by the elector Adolphus ; and the emperor Frederic 3d, permitted printers to wear gold and silver ; and both *Typhographii* and *Typhoteta* were honored by him with the privilege of wearing coats of arms."—"Ty- pothetis scil. aquilæ, typographis autem gryphi, pede altero pilam tinctoriam, unguibus tenentis, scutum donavit, cum aperta ga- lea, et superimposita ei corona." Vol. 1, p. 47, 48,

5. "Ludovicus Guicciardinus, Descrizzione di tutti i Paesi Bassi. Edita Antwerpia, typis Gul. Sylvii, in descriptione urbis Harlemi."

Geinsfleiche was born at Mentz ; and, that he was the first who attempted printing there, is a fact which is not disputed. It is said his family had been distinguished by the honor of knighthood ; but, being reduced to poverty, that circumstance obliged him and his brother to seek a livelihood in a foreign country. Meerman says, that he was called Geinsfleiche *κατα ἔξοχον*.

He fled to Mentz, with his types, about the year 1440 ; but did not publish any thing till two years after his arrival there. During the interval he was employed in making preparations for business.

Before he left Haerlem, his younger brother was engaged in attempts to execute printing at Strasburg ; but, being unsuccessful, and learning that his elder brother, by the assistance of John Fust, John Meidenbachius, and others, had established himself in the printing business, and performed it in a house hired for that purpose, and which from that circumstance was called *Zum jungen*,\* he left Strasburg, and went and joined this company at Mentz, in 1444. As they were all connected together some years, it may be proper, in this place, to give some account of the younger Geinsfleiche and Fust.

\* This house ever after retained the name of the Printing House.

**JOHN GEINSFLEICHE, the Younger, alias GUTTEMBURG, of STRASBURG.**

It has been observed by those who have written concerning the two Geinsfleiches, that it was not uncommon, in the age in which they lived, to call two brothers by the same christian name ; to which other names were, occasionally, added by way of distinction. Upon this principle the younger Geinsfleiche took the addition of Guttemburg—by which name I shall designate him in the course of this work.

Guttemburg was born at Mentz ; but he lived, several years, at Strasburg. At that place he had several partners, who were employed in various branches of business ; particularly, in attempting to improve the art of Printing. Originally they were lapidaries, looking glass makers, &c.

Guttemburg is supposed to have had a knowledge of the art, as it was practised at Haerlem ; which, it is thought, he acquired by visiting his brother, who was in the service of Laurentius ; and, it is probable, that when Geinsfleiche fled from Holland to Mentz, he visited Guttemburg at Strasburg, and gave him some farther information respecting the business. At that time, it is believed, they projected the cut metal types ; about which Guttemburg was, afterward, much employed, without being able to bring them to perfection, before he went to Mentz. He is represented as being more skilful

in mechanic arts than his brother, but, it is said, failed in completing the types from the want of a more competent knowledge of the art of Printing.

The author of a very curious treatise on engraving, which was published at Leipsic in 1771, mentions, that Guttenburg fell short of the completion of his design, from his not being able to form his whole collection of types of a uniform height. Whatever was the cause of his failure, he nearly ruined himself and his associates at Strasburg, by his projects. He differed with those partners, whose names were Andrew Drizehen, Andrew Heilmann, and John Riff; and he was involved in three law-suits with them,\* as appears by an authentic judicial decree of the senate of Strasburg, in 1439, after the death of Drizehen. That unfortunate man died in 1438; and, on his death bed, mentioned to his confessor, that his connexion with Guttenburg, in an attempt to acquire the art of Printing, had exposed him to vast expenses, of which a single *obolus* had never been remunerated.

Guttenburg became overwhelmed with debts; and, being harrassed with law suits, he was obliged to sell every thing he possessed at Strasburg, and to quit that city.

He had entered into a marriage contract with Anna, "a noble girl of *The Iron Gate*," but refused to fulfil the contract, until he was compelled, by a judicial decree. They lived unhappily;—and, when he went to Mentz, he deserted her.

\* Orig. Typog. Vol. 1. p. 163.

**JOHN FUST, alias FAUST, alias FAUSTUS, of MENTZ.**

WHEN Geinsfleiche arrived at Mentz, about the year 1440, he entered into a connexion with Fust, who was rich, and became the patron of the art of Printing. He supplied the funds upon which Geinsfleiche conducted the business. In 1442, Fust and Geinsfleiche published the first productions from their press, viz.

*Alexandri Galli Doctrinale, and  
Petri Hispani Tractatus.*

These books were much used in schools ; and it was thought they produced a handsome profit for the printers ; as they issued several editions of them from their separate wooden types.

John\* Meidenbachius, and others, became partners in this concern in 1443 ; and, in 1444, they were joined by Guttemburg.

This company soon zealously engaged in the attempt to bring forward the invention of cut face metal types ; which was a work of great magnitude, and required so much labor and attention, that it was not brought to any degree of maturity till about

\* Many of the earliest printers had this prenomén, as Laurentius, Geinsfleiche, Guttemburg, Fust, Meidenbachius, Petershemius, &c. This circumstance led the printers at Leipzig to choose St. John as their tutelár saint ; and to commemorate the festival of St. John the baptist. Jo. Stovius. Wolfius, Monumen. Typog. Tom. ii.

seventeen years after the first discovery of Printing ; and, they were busily employed two years in completing a sufficient quantity to begin an edition of part of the Bible.

During the time the metal types were preparing, they printed several books from wooden blocks, and moveable wooden types, among which were,

*The Catholicon.*

*Tabula Alphabetica.*

*Donati Grammatica.*

*The Confessionalia.*

*The Decretals of Gregory IX.* And some

*Pictures from wooden cuts.*

In 1450, an edition of part of the Bible appeared from the metal types with cut faces.

This was the SECOND GREAT ERA OF THE ART.

A disagreement among the partners produced a dissolution of the company, before the end of the year 1450. How Geinsfleiche was employed after this time, does not appear. He was much advanced in years, and had nearly lost his sight, when he quitted this connexion. He died in 1462.

FUST and GUTTEMBURG, of *MENZ.*

AFTER the partnership of Fust, Geinsfleiche, &c. was dissolved, Fust and Guttemburg formed a new engagement, and continued together till 1455, when many difficulties arose ; the partnership was dis-

solved, and an action, brought by Fust against Guttenburg, for monies advanced, terminated in favor of the former.

Fust, when he separated from Guttenburg, kept possession of the printing materials, by agreement, and took, as a partner, the ingenious Peter Schoeffer; who, as the servant of Fust, had been instructed and employed in printing by Geinsfleiche and Guttenburg.

Guttenburg procured some pecuniary assistance from Conrad Humery, syndic of Mentz, and other friends; by means whereof, he furnished himself with cut face metal types, and opened another printing house in Mentz; where, in 1460, he published, without his name, the *Catholicon of Jacobus de Janua*, which was printed in a very handsome style. He worked with wooden, or cut face metal types, till the year 1462. In 1465, he was admitted *inter aulicos*, as has been mentioned, with a pension; and died in February, 1468.

At the death of Guttenburg, Conrad Humery took possession of his printing materials, under an engagement to the archbishop Adolphus, that he never would sell them to any one but a citizen of Mentz; they were, however, soon after disposed of to Nicholas Bechtermuntze, of Altavilla; who, in 1469, published *Vocabularium Latino Teutonicum*, printed with the same types on which Guttenburg printed the *Catholicon*.

There was, formerly, in the front of the house where Guttenburg lived at Mentz, the following inscription, which was placed there anno 1507.



*“Joanni Guttembergensi Moguntino, quæ primus omnium literas ære Imprimendas invenit, hac Arte de orbe toto bene merenti: Yvo Vintigensis hoc Saxum pro Monumento posuit.”\**

FUST and SCHOEFFER, of *Mentz*.

BEGAN business together in 1455; and, in 1457, published what was then called a “magnificent edition” of the Psalter. It was in the press four years; and, for those times, was uncommonly elegant. As it was published in eighteen months after the retreat of Guttemburg, he must be allowed the credit of having had a considerable share in the performance. This Psalter is said to have been printed with a new fount of cut face metal types; and, is the first book known to have a genuine date, and the names of the printers.

Schoeffer turned his attention to an important improvement in the art—that of casting types with faces. He kept the scheme secret, till he became perfect in the business.

This may be called **THE THIRD GREAT ERA OF PRINTING.**

The first book which was printed with these new invented types was,

*Durandi Rationale*, in 1459. Afterward,  
*The Bible*, in 1462, some say 1460.

\* Luckombe. Hist. Print.

*Tully's Offices*, which was several years in the press, and completed in 1465—a second edition was worked off in 1466, according to some, but this is contradicted by Maittaire, in his *Annals*.\*

Afterwards, a second edition of the Psalter, on cut metal types. This edition was not equal to the first. Many other books were printed by Fust and Schoeffer.

The edition of the Bible, just mentioned, was a very expensive work. It was five years in the press ; and, it was calculated that the expense amounted to 4000 florins, before they had printed the twelfth sheet. The work was admirably executed. It was this edition of the Bible, as some authors say, of which Fust took a number of copies to Paris, where he sold them, first for six, then for five hundred crowns each, which were the prices commonly given to the scribes for very elegant copies of the Scriptures. He afterwards, by degrees, reduced the price to thirty crowns. It is said, that the purchasers were ignorant that these copies were printed ; and, that it was the policy of Fust to make them believe they were written. They were an exact imitation of the best manuscripts. As he lowered his price, his sales increased ; and, people were astonished by his producing copies as fast as they were called for. When he lessened his price to thirty crowns, all Paris was perplexed and agitated, both on account of the

\* Mait. *Annal. Typog.* 1719, Vol. i. p. 60 ; but Meerman observes that, on examination, it was found there were two editions.

number of books produced, and the uniformity of them. It was believed, that he had made a league with the devil; and, he was accused of being a magician. His lodgings were searched, by the officers of police;—several Bibles were found—and the red ink with which the illuminators had made the great capitals at the beginning of each chapter, was pronounced to be his blood. Fust fled, and escaped the death which awaited such hapless victims of superstition as, in those days, were suspected of being necromancers. From this event, originated the story of “The Devil and Dr. Faustus.”

At the commencement of their business, Fust and Schoeffer printed, chiefly, on parchment; but, a multiplicity of copies occasioned a scarcity of that article, and they printed afterward on paper, with the exception of a few copies, which were printed on vellum for the purpose of being elegantly illuminated.

Fust had the surname of **Gutman**, or Goodman, given to him; on account of his beneficence, and the good he did, by employing so many people;\* but, notwithstanding his eminence, and the fame he acquired, no one has handed down to us an account of the period at which he died. It is believed he did not live longer than the year 1470. He is called Fust, Faust and Faustus, by different writers.

\* Vide the Chronicle of Jo. Carion.

**PETER SCHOEFFER, of *Metz*.***Completion of the Invention of Printing.*

THE consummation of the art, is, of course, dated from the time when Schoeffer finished his invention of metal types with cast faces; the credit of which belongs exclusively to him, although they were used during the time of his copartnership with Fust. This was, as I observed before, a new era in the art of Printing; and, it is from this period that many of the Europeans date the invention of the art in Europe.

It is said, that Laurentius, Geinsfleiche and Guttenburg, who used blocks and wooden types, were classed, by the Germans, among the **Breesmalers**, so called, who painted playing cards on paper, and pictures on both paper and parchment. But, after the discovery of the method of impressing the languages on those substances, by means of Schoeffer's cast metal types, the Dutch made use of the verb **Printen**, to express the manner in which that kind of impressions were made, or taken, and hence was derived the term Printing. [c]

Cutting the types in wood or metal, was a tedious and expensive process, and retarded the progress of the art; but, the invention of Schoeffer

relieved it from those difficulties which confined it to Haerlem, Mentz or Strasburg; and, in a short period, it was carried to almost all the capital cities of Europe. It has since been spread into Africa, America—and even to the “thrilling regions of thick ribb’d ice,” in the northern parts of Europe—not excepting Iceland.

While Fust was in partnership with Geinsfleiche and Guttemberg, Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, who was his servant, learned from them the art of Printing. Schoeffer, on account of his ingenuity and industry, became the partner of his master, and had the management of the business, after Geinsfleiche and Guttemberg separated from Fust. Several of the performances of Fust and Schoeffer, have already been mentioned.

From the superior genius, and inventive faculties, of Schoeffer, he soon excelled both Geinsfleiche and Guttemberg in the printing business. Not long after his connexion with Fust, he, by repeated trials, arrived at the object his active mind had conceived—an object which established his fortune—and will hand his fame down from age to age, as long as the art shall endure.

When Schoeffer had finished a few of his metal types, cast with faces, he shewed them to Fust, who was so overjoyed by the discovery, that he promised Schoeffer his only daughter Christiana, or, as others say, **Dynen**, [Dinah] in marriage—which promise he soon fulfilled.

At first, many difficulties attended these types, as well as those which were cut. To cast them all exactly of a height; to make the faces range in a

line, and to compound the metal so as to be fusible and make the cast clear, yet of such firmness, when cast, as to stand the necessary pressure, &c. were objects not accomplished in a moment, but which it was indispensably necessary to attain, before the types could be useful. These difficulties, and all others, were overcome by the perseverance and ingenuity of Schoeffer.

The art of manufacturing these types was concealed, by administering an oath of secrecy to all with whom they entrusted the discovery, and employed in their foundry and printing house, till the year 1462; when, through the sacking of Mentz, by Adolphus, the workmen were driven into other countries; and, as they practised the art as a mean of subsistence, the secret soon became known in all the places to which they fled.

A clear account of the means used by Schoeffer in making his types, is given by Trithemius,\* who had it from Schoeffer himself, in 1484; to which may be added the testimonies published by Jo. Frid. Faustus of Aschaffenburg, a descendant of Fust, from papers which had been preserved in the family; and, the evidence of John Schoeffer, the son of Peter Schoeffer.†

Schoeffer is said to have been one of the first engravers on copper; he was so, as respects en-

\* *Annales Hirsaugiens.* Tom. II. ad ann. 1450. p. 421.

† In a *colophon* to an edition of *Breviarium Trithemi*. John Schoeffer succeeded his father as a printer. Meerman Orig. Typog. vol. ii. p. 144. Wolfius Mon. Typog. vol. 1. p. 468.

graving the moulds for casting types;\* but the art of engraving on that metal was known and practised long before his time.

In 1468, Schoeffer printed an edition of Justinian's Institutes, to which was added the following, with other lines in praise of printing, and of those who, in Mentz, had made improvements in that art.

“ Natio quæque suum poterit reperire charagma  
Secum ; nempe stylo præminet omnigeno.”

The same versifier writes thus, respecting the invention of cast metal types.

“ Hos dedit eximios sculpendi in arte magistros,  
Cui placet in mactos arte sagire viros,  
Quos genuit ambos urbs Moguntina Johannes,†  
Librorum insignes protocharagmaticos,  
Cum quibus optatum Petrus venit ad Polyandrum,  
Cursor posterior, introëundo prior ;  
Quippe quibus præstat sculpendi lege, sagitus  
A solo dante lumen et ingenium.”‡

In 1471, after the death of Fust, we find Schoeffer in partnership with Conrad Henliff, a kinsman

\* Jo. Frid. Faustus, says, that Schoeffer, “ by the good providence of God, found out the method of cutting *incidendi*, the faces of the characters in a *matrix*, that the letters might be singly cast ;” and, that “ he privately *cut matrices* for the whole alphabet.”

† By *ambos Joannes*, Meerman is of opinion that the poet refers to the two Johns, Geinsfleiche and Guttomburg ; the first inventors of metal types with cast faces.

‡ A translation of the above, which appears to be a mixture of several languages, rendered more difficult by technical

of Fust; but, how long this connexion lasted, has not been ascertained. Schoeffer continued the printing business till 1490, and published many books. The last book known to be printed by him was an edition of the Psalter. He printed forty eight books, in various sizes, as mentioned by Schwartzius.\* Meerman has increased the number; but, probably, he included the works of the society of Fust and Schoeffer.

Peter Schoeffer was succeeded in the printing business by his son John, to whom the exclusive privilege of printing Livy, was granted by the emperor Maximilian.

terms, is not attempted; but the following lines, presented by a friend, may, perhaps, pass for an imitation.

The nation which all others would excel,  
Like him must learn the art of printing well.

Whoever would in arts resplendent shine,  
Let him pursue the sculptor's art divine;  
Following the two—of science the bright morn—  
The JOHNS renown'd, who in fam'd Mentz were born.  
Or He,|| the husband of the graphic arts—  
Old Gernshiem's pride—the man of various parts.  
Great was his fame!—his well earn'd honor more  
Than that of all the men who rose before!  
He holy writ fulfils—for though the last,  
His fame transcends all those of ages past!  
The typographic art he made secure,  
By laws, and skill, and light, which shall endure  
From age to age, till types shall be no more.

|| Schoeffer.

\*Schwartzius, Primar. Docum. de Orig. Typogr. par. ii. p. 4.



Having traced the art of Printing in Europe, from its commencement by Laurentius, in Haerlem, to the consummation of the discovery, by Schoeffer, at Mentz ; and, having briefly stated the claims and pretensions of Haerlem, Strasburg and Mentz, to the honor of the original invention—by which it appears that, as nearly as can be determined by the most diligent and minute investigation, the art was first discovered at Haerlem, about 1429, or 1430, carried to Mentz in 1440, and attempted at Strasburg about the same period ; but, that after Guttemburg removed from Strasburg, it was confined to Haerlem and Mentz, till the year 1462 ;—I will now give a concise account of what is called “ its dispersion ” into other parts of Europe.

Upon the taking and sacking of Mentz, the workmen of Schoeffer were scattered abroad ; and, thus the art of Printing was spread to the distant cities where they fixed their abode. Chiefly by their means the art became known at Strasburg, Boulogne, Tours, and Paris ;—where it was practised, as well as in several other cities, before it was introduced into England.

## ENGLAND.

IN regard to England, a voluminous controversy has existed whether the first press was set up in Westminster, or at Oxford ; which question never has been, and perhaps never will be fully and satisfactorily settled.

The celebrated William Caxton had, for nearly two hundred years, the credit of being the first who transplanted the art into Greatbritain. He was a mercer, and citizen of London, but went to the continent on his own business, and was employed in it, as well as in public affairs, for several years, in Holland, Flanders, Germany, &c. While abroad, he was commissioned, jointly with Richard Whitehill, esq. to negotiate and conclude a treaty of commerce between his sovereign king Edward IV, and the brother in law of that monarch, the Duke of Burgundy, who, at that period, held the sovereignty of Flanders. When Caxton was in Germany, the knowledge of Printing had pervaded a considerable part of Europe. He acquired a proper understanding of the business ; furnished himself with a printing apparatus ; and, for three years, practised the art at Cologne, where he was patronised by the duke and dutchess of Burgundy.

About the year 1473, he returned to England, and set up a press in Westminster Abbey ;\* and, there he continued to print till he died. He received the patronage of the nobility, the royal family, and particular encouragement from the abbot of

\* Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, tom. 1. p. 721, differs, though not materially, from this account. He says, "St. Anne's, an old chapel, over against which the lady Margaret, mother to king Henry VI, erected an almshouse for poor women. The place whereon this chapel and almshouse stood, was called the eleemosynary or almonry, as the alms of the abbey were there distributed to the poor ; in which the abbot of Westminster erected the first printing press put up in England for William Caxton, citizen and mercer,"



**Explicit opus magistri wil  
belmi lyndewoode Super con-  
stitucionēs prouinciales laus deo**

Nº 2.

**Cy** commence le volume Intitule le recueil des hystoires  
de tropes Compose par venerable homme moult le feute  
prestre chappellain de mon tresredoubte seigneur Monseigneur  
le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne En lan de grace  
mil. cccc. lxiiii. . .

**Is** te endest the booke named the dictes or sayengis  
of the philosophres empynted by me William  
Caxton at Westmestre the yere of our lord .m.  
ccc. lxxviij. Whiche booke is late translated out of

**Post obitum** Caxton wluut te viuere cura  
willelmi. Caxton clare ppetua tui  
Nam tua non solum compressit opuscula formis  
Has quoqz s laudes. insit hic elle tuas

Nº 1.

*Specimen of Caxton's Types.*

II.

III.

Westminster. The fact, that he was the first who introduced the art into England, is justified and confirmed by many public and private records; and, by chronologers and almanack makers, who mentioned him as the first printer, from time to time, and from year to year, without contradiction, till about 1660.

A dispute arose, in 1642, between some persons who printed by virtue of a patent from the crown, and the company of stationers, respecting the patents. A petition was presented to parliament for a law to enforce a better regulation of the art of Printing; and to recal several patents. A committee was appointed, who heard counsel for and against the petitioners;—and, in the course of the pleadings, Caxton was acknowledged as indisputably the first printer in England. No other printer was mentioned; or, perhaps, ever thought of, at that time, as having a primogenial claim.

But at length a book was taken notice of by some curious antiquarians, bearing the date of its impression at Oxford in 1468. This book was first discovered in the public library at Cambridge; and afterwards found in other ancient libraries. It was a small volume of forty one quarto leaves, with this title, *Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum ad Papam Laurencium*;\* and, at the end, *Explicit expositio, &c. Impressa Oxonie et*

\* The types with which this book was printed, it is said, were made after the manner of those used by Laurentius; that is, on wood, *separately* and moveable. See the specimens annexed, No. I. and II.

*finita Anno Domini M.CCCC.lxviii. xvij—die Decembris.* As the date of this book was fair, and bore no appearance of fraud, it, at once, robbed Caxton of the fame which had so long been attached to his memory, and created a strong doubt of his being justly considered as the father of printing in England. His partizans, however, soon raised objections, one of which was, that this exposition was antedated, either by accident or carelessness, by the omission of an X ; which, added, would make it 1478, the period which had ever been assigned to the establishment of the first press at Oxford. As there are many proofs that mistakes like this had occurred, the fame of Caxton began to revive ; but in 1664, Richard Atkyns, esq. who claimed some exclusive privilege in printing, under the royal patents, and who had then, as appears, a law suit with the company of stationers, respecting a book, to the copy of which he had a patent right ;—published a pamphlet, intitled, “ The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of History, and the Records of the Kingdome, wherein it is demonstrated that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England.” The design of this pamphlet was to give the right and title of Printing to the crown ; and, by that mean, to ascertain the validity of the patents granted by the crown. To support this argument, it was stated that an ancient manuscript record was discovered at Lambeth House, in the registry of the see of Canterbury, the purport of which is as follows, viz. —That, “ as soon as the art of Printing made some noise in Europe, Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of

Canterbury, moved king Henry VI, to use all possible means for procuring a "*Printing Mould*," for so it was then called, to be brought to England. The king taking advice how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about, without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to some person who should draw off some of the workmen from Haerlem, in Holland, where it was invented. The king furnished Robert Turnour, then master of the robes, with a thousand marks, and Turnour took to his assistance William Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who traded much to Holland, and, on that account, formed a good pretence for going and tarrying in the Low Countries to attain the art. Turnour was in disguise—had his beard shaven off, &c. but Caxton appeared in public, being known. They went to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Haerlem itself; for the town was very jealous, and had imprisoned divers persons who came from other parts with the same intention. They spent all their money, and the king sent them five hundred marks more. At length, a bargain was struck between Caxton and Tournier and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the under workmen, named Frederick Corseillis, who, late one night, stole from his fellows, in disguise, into a vessel prepared for his reception—and he arrived safe in London. By means of the archbishop, who was appointed chancellor of the university, Corseillis was carried by a guard to Oxford, it being thought imprudent to set him to work in London; which guard constantly watched to prevent Corseillis from any possible es-

cape till he had made good his promise in teaching them how to print. So that, at Oxford, Printing was first set up in England, before there was any printing in France,\* Spain, Italy or Germany, except the city of Mentz, which claims the priority in printing even over Haerlem itself, calling her city *Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicae inventricam primum*; though it is known to be otherwise, that city having received the art by the brother of one of the workmen of Haerlem, who had learned it at home of his brother, and afterward set up for himself at Mentz."

The pamphlet then goes on to state that, "This Oxon press was at least ten years before there was any printing in Europe, except at Haerlem, and at Mentz, where it was but new born. This press at Oxford was afterward found inconvenient to be the sole printing press of England, as being too far from London and the sea; wherefore, the king set up a press at St. Albans, and another at Westminster, where they printed books of divinity and physic, as the king, for reasons best known to himself and council, permitted, then, no law book to be printed; nor did any printer exercise that art, but only such as were the king's sworn servants; *the king himself having the price and emolument for printing books*. By these means the art grew so famous that *anno primo* Richard 3. c. 9, when an act of parliament

\* This is an error, for before what is supposed to be the spurious date of the book printed at Oxford [1468] there was a press at Boulogne. It was established there as early as 1462; there was also one at Paris in 1464, and another in Rome in 1466, &c.



was made for restraining aliens from using any handicrafts here, except as servants to natives, a special proviso was inserted, that strangers might bring in printed or written books to sell at their pleasure, and exercise the arts of Printing, illuminating and writing, notwithstanding the acts—so that in the space of fifty years, by the indulgence of Edward 4th, Edward 5th, Richard 3d, Henry 7th, and king Henry the 8th, the English proved so good proficient in Printing, and grew so numerous, as to furnish the kingdom with books ; and so skilful as to print them, as well as any beyond the seas ; as appears by the act of 25 Henry 8th, cap. 15, which abrogates said proviso for that reason ; and it was enacted in said statute, that if any person bought foreign books, bound, he should pay 6s. 8d. per book ; and further, if any printer or seller of books were unreasonable in their prices, they should be moderated by the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, the two lords justices, or any two of them, who also had power to fine them 3s. 4d. for every book the price whereof should be enhanced ; but when they were by charter incorporated with bookbinders, booksellers, and founders of types, and called the Company of Stationers ; they kickt against the power that gave them life, &c. Queen Elizabeth gave the sole privilege of printing all books that touch the law, or concern the common law of England, to Tottel, a servant to her majesty ; and after his death, Yest Weirt, another servant to her majesty ; and after them, king James granted the same privilege to More, of the signet, which grant continues to this day,” &c. &c.

The year following, 1465, the house of commons thought proper to inquire into the right of the king's prerogative respecting Printing ; at which time, it is said, the Lambeth House record was examined by a committee of the house, appointed to draw up a bill relating to the exercise of the art ; and that this committee borrowed the record for that purpose, but did not make use of it, and never returned it ; and, the record has not been seen or heard of since. The advocates for the authenticity of the record observe, that as sir John Berkenhead, whom they mention as the borrower of it for the use of the committee, did not return it to its proper keeper, it was probably destroyed in 1666, in the great fire which consumed upwards of 13,000 houses in the city of London, and an almost infinite number of literary productions.

The late discoveries of the learned Meerman, in his researches after ancient Printing, were published at Amsterdam in 1762. He established beyond controversy the claim of Haerlem to the discovery of Printing by Laurentius ; and he, as well as some other good writers on the subject, are decidedly of opinion that the Oxford press was the first set up in England ; and that, at this press, wooden types were used. They allow Caxton to be the first who printed with metal types ; and, as the full discovery of the art should be dated from the invention of those types, Caxton may be called "the first English printer." Those, in the opposition, will not allow there was any press in the kingdom till Caxton established his, and most of the best English writers on Printing, appear to be of that opinion. [d]

WILLIAM CAXTON, of *WESTMINSTER*.

He was born in the county of Kent, England, and served an apprenticeship to Robert Large, a mercer, who was sheriff and afterward lord mayor of London. Large died in 1441, and left by will "xxxiiii\* marks to his apprentice William Caxton;" which being a considerable sum in those days, we may consider it as a strong proof of his esteem for the integrity and good character of Caxton.† When young, he went to Holland, &c. as a factor for the company of mercers, in London, and appears to have been proud of his business, and of his country; for even at the court of the duke of Burgundy in 1470, he stiled himself "citizen and mercer of the city of London." In 1464, he was employed, with Richard Whitehill, esq. as has been already mentioned, by Edward IV, to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the duke of Burgundy. The commission stiled them, "Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, et Duputos speciales," and gave them full power jointly and severally to treat, &c. It was during his residence at the court of the duke of Burgundy, between 1466 and 1472, that he turned his attention to the practice of Printing.

When he arrived in England, the novelty and usefulness of Printing, attracted particular notice,

\* A mark is 13s. 4d. sterling.

† Ames's Typographical Antiquities,

not only of the learned, but of the great men of the kingdom.\* Many of his books were printed at their expense. Several of them were dedicated to Edward IV ; to the king's brother, the duke of Clarence ; and, to his sister, the dutchess of Burgundy, in whose service Caxton had been employed several years, while he was absent from England. He printed various books by order of Henry VII, and his son, prince Arthur.

The biographers of Caxton, do not mention the particular year in which he was born ; nor do they give his exact age. But it appears, from various accounts, that he was about thirty one years old when his master and patron died. Soon after that event he went to Holland to manage the concerns of the company of mercers, having previously been made a member of that body. By his own statements, given in the prologues and colophons of the books he first printed, we find that he remained abroad thirty two years ; and returned to England with a press and types in 1473, when he must have been sixty three years of age. He died in 1491, aged eighty one years ; and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. This fact is proved by a record of the church warden's account for 1491, in which there is this item, " Atte bureyng of William Caxton, for *IIII. torchys vi s. viii d.*"

\* Caxton began Printing, in England, in a room belonging to Westminster Abbey ; in consequence of which, a printing house, when certain ceremonies are performed by the workmen to sanction the name, has, down to the present period, been called a *Chapel*.

There is another record of his death, in the following words, "Of youre charitee pray for the Sowle of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, that in hys tyme was a man of moche ornate and moche renommed wysdome and connyng, and decessed full crystenly in the yere of our Lord M cccc lxxxxi.

Moder of merci shylð hym from thorribul fynd  
And bryng hym to lyff eternall that neuyr hath ynd."

He followed the printing business as long as he lived; and, published some works of considerable magnitude. Among them was *The Canterbury Tales* of Geoffrey Chaucer, which Mr. Ames supposes he completed in 1475, or 1476. This work he printed from a very imperfect copy; and, as his candor does honor to his heart, I will give, in his own words, his reasons for undertaking a second edition; presuming it will be agreeable to the reader to see the identical language which was spoken and written by the Father of English Printing. When Caxton was informed of the imperfections in his first edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, he says he undertook a second, to satisfy the author, whereas before by ignorance he had erred, in hurting and defaming his book;—"whyche book I have dyligently oversen, and duly examyned, to thende that it be made accordyng unto his owen makynge; for I fynde many of the sayd bookes, whyche wryters have abrydgyd it, and many thynges left out. And in some places have sette certayn versys that he never made ne sette in hys booke; of which bookes, so incorecte, was one brought to me vi. yere passyd, whyche I supposed had ben veray true and corecte,

and accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn number of them, whyche anon were sold to many and dyuerse gentyl men, of whom one gentylman cam to me, and sayd that this book was not according in many places unto the book that Geferey Chaucer had made. To whom I answered, that I had made it accordyng to my cople, and by me was nothyng added ne mynussyd. Thenne he sayd he knewe a book whyche hys fader had and moche louyd, that was very trewe, and accordyng unto hys owen first book by hym made; and sayd more, yf I wold enprynte it agayn he wold gete me the same book for a cople. How be it he wist well, that his fader wold not gladly departe fro it. To whom I said, in caas that he coude gete me suche a book, trewe and correcte, yet I wold ones endeuoyre me to enprynte it agayn, for to satisfy thauctour, where as to fore, by ygnorance, I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his book in dyuerse places, in setting in somme thynges that he neuer sayd ne made, and leuing out many thynges that he made, whyche ben requysite to be sette in it. And thus we fyll at accord, and he ful gentlyly gate of hys fader the said book, and delyuered it to me, by whyche I have corrected my book, as heere after alle alonge, by thayde of almyghty God, shal folowe, whom I humbly beseche," &c.

In addition to the other evidences and conjectures, adduced to prove that Caxton was the father of Printing in England, I might have added that of the famous antiquary, Joh. Leland, who was nearly contemporary with Caxton; part of his works having been written about forty years after Caxton

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Explicit epistacio sancti Ieromimi in  
simbolo apostolorum a o papam laude  
enim Impressa Oxonie Et finita An  
no domini . M . cccc . lxxviii . xvij . die  
decembris \*

Nº I.

Nº IV.

*Specimen of Caxton's Types.*

Whiche booke I began in marche the vij daye ande fynyshyd the vij day of Juny the yere of our lord . m . cc . lxxviij & the xxij yere of the regne of our sayde saueraign lord kyng Edward the fourth . & in this maner sette in forme & enprynted the xx day of nouembre the yere a forsayd in the abbay of Westmestec by the sayd Wylliam Caxton

Was delyuered to me Wyllym Caxton by the most crysten kyng & redoubted pryncce my naturel & soueraign lord kyng Henry the vij / kyng of england & of france in his palais of Westmestec the xxiiij day of Januarye the / iii yere of his regne & desired & wylled me to translate this said boke & reduce it in to our english & naturel tonge / & to put it in enprynte

VI.

A G E F O S O W



died. This Leland was library keeper to king Henry VIII; and was employed by the king about twelve years, to examine the libraries of the different monasteries in the kingdom, and to collect whatever was curious therein. He wrote an account of his discoveries, which he called his *Itinerarium*. In a work of his, entitled, *De arte amandi*, written before he undertook his Itinerary in 1540, he speaks thus of Caxton, *Gulielmum Caxodunum hominem nec indiligentem, nec indoctum, et quem constat primum Londini artem exercuisse typographicam, &c.* In another work of Leland,\* he expressly calls Caxton "the first printer of England."

In an appendix, I shall insert several of the colophons, &c. to Caxton's books, which may prove interesting to the curious. In most of them he left a space, at the beginning of the chapters, for the illuminator to make the large capitals according to custom; but he, sometimes, used large two line letters with Gothic faces, which were called "Anglo Norman.†

\* De Script. Brit. p. 480.—The celebrated Henry Wharton also affirms, "that Caxton was the first who imported Printing into England."

† For specimens of Caxton's types and printing, see the plates annexed to this work; they are copied from Ames's English Typographical Antiquities.

WYNKYN DE WORDE, of *Westminster*.

DE WORDE succeeded Caxton at Westminster. He had been apprentice to him in Burgundy, emigrated to England with him, and remained with him as long as he lived. He styled himself "Prynter to Margarate, &c. the Kinges Grandame." Most of the writers who mention him, say that he was very skilful in his profession. He printed acts of parliament, &c. after his master's death. His first care was to furnish himself with a new set of punches, and new casts of types, with handsomer faces than those used by Caxton. The faces of the types made by De Worde, are the same as those of the **Blacks** of the present day. He introduced Roman letters, and was the first who used them in England; but they were only for emphatical words, in the manner we now use *Italics*.

De Worde did much business, was in great repute, and, like his master Caxton, was learned, accomplished and pious. He died about the year 1535. De Worde carried on the business six or seven years in the printing house which had been occupied by Caxton. At the end of the first work he executed, he printed these lines, viz.

" Infynyte laude, with thankynges many folde,  
 I yielde to God, me socouryng with his grace  
 This boke to finyshe, which that ye beholde,  
 Scale of perfeccion calde in every place ;

Whereof thauctour Walter Hilton was,  
 And Wynkyn de Worde this hath sett in prynte  
 In William Caxston's hows, so fyll the case,  
 God rest his soule. In joye ther mot it stynt.

Impressus, anno salutis M cccc lxxxxiiii."

As a conclusion of this brief account of the introduction of Printing into England, I will give an extract from the last will and testament of one of the ancient English printers, viz. the abovementioned Wynkyn de Worde, successor of Caxton.

He commends his soul to God and the blessed St. Mary ;\* and, his body to be buried in the parochial church of St. Brides, in Fleet street, before the high altar of St. Katherine.—“ Item. For tythes forgotten, 6 s. 8 d. To the Fraternity of our Lady, of which I am a Brother, 10 s. to pray for my soul. To my maid, 3 l. in books. To Agnes Tidder, widow, 40 s. in books. To Robert Derby, 3 l. in printed books. To John Barbanson, 60 s. in books, and ten marks. To Hector, my servant, five marks, sterling, in books. To Wislin, 20 s. in printed books. To every of my apprentices, 3 l. in printed books. To my servant James Ganer, twenty marks in books—and forgive John Badil, stationer, all the money he owes me, for executing this my will with James Ganer ; and that they, with the consent of the wardens of the parish of St. Brides, purchase at least 20 s. a year, in or near the city, to pray for my soul and say mass. To Henry Pepwell, stationer,

\* At this time our ancestors in England were, chiefly, Roman catholics.

4l. in books. To John Gouge, forgive what he owes me, and 4l. To Robert Copland, ten marks, and to Alard, bookbinder, my servant, 6l. 15 s. 4 d."

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There was no press in London, till the year 1480, when two foreigners, supposed to have been brought over to England by Caxton, whose names were John Lettou and William Macklinia, or Maclyn, followed the printing business, sometimes in partnership, and sometimes separately.

After the year 1470, the knowledge and practice of Printing, was rapidly diffused over Europe. To give a particular account of the introduction of it into each country and city, would be tedious and uninteresting. An alphabetical list of the cities and towns, the names of the persons by whom, and the dates when, it was first introduced, will be thought sufficient. Such a catalogue I have extracted from Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, tom. primi, pars posterior, Amster. 1733 ; Nichols's *Origin of Printing* ; Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ* ; Middleton's *Dissertation on the Origin of Printing*, &c. This catalogue I have enlarged and completed from various other authorities—added the places in America, where Printing first made its appearance ; and, arranged it in the order following, viz.

## EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA.

<i>Cities.</i>	<i>Names of Printers.</i>	<i>Date of the first Printing.</i>
<i>Abbeville,</i>	John Du Pré and Pe- } ter Girard,	1486
<i>Albans, St.</i>	Anonymous,	1480
<i>Alcala di Henarez,</i> [ <i>Complutum in</i> <i>Spain.</i> ]	Anonymous,	1494
<i>Alost,</i>	Jo: de Westphalia, } Theodoric Martens,	1474
<i>Altavilla, Italy,</i>	Nicolas Bichtermüntze,	1469
<i>Amberg,</i>	Anonymous,	1471
<i>Angers,</i>	John Alexander,	1498
<i>Angoulesme,</i>	Anonymous,	1493
<i>Antwerp,</i>	{ Anonymous, Gerard Leeu,	1479 1480
<i>Aquila, in Abrunno,</i>	Adam de Rotwil,	1482
<i>Augsburgh,</i>	John Bemler,	1466
<i>Avignon,</i>	Nicholas Lepe,	1497
<i>Austria, city of,*</i>	Gerard of Flanders,	1480
<i>Bamberg, or Bem- berg,</i>	{ John Pfeil,	1499
<i>Barcelona,</i>	Anonymous,	1473

\* This is a very vague account. By the city of Austria, perhaps Vienna was meant. By Gerard of Flanders we may probably understand Gerard de Leeu, or Leen, of Antwerp, whom Luckombe places at Gouge in 1479, and Bowyer and Nichols at Antwerp in 1480. Perhaps he removed to Vienna, or some other city of Austria, the same year. It is probable by Gouge was meant Ghent, or, as the French call it, Gand.

<i>Basle,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1475
	{ Bernard Richel,	1476
<i>Bergamo,</i>	Anonymous,	1498
<i>Berlin,</i>	Anonymous,	1484
<i>Besançon,</i>	Anonymous,	1487
<i>Bois Le Duc,</i>	Anonymous,	1487
		1462
<i>Boulogne,</i>	Balthazar Azoguidus,	{ or
		1471
<i>Bourges,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1493
	{ Frederick Alemanus,	1496
<i>Brescia,</i>	Henry of Cologne, Sta-	{
	tius Gallicus,	1474
<i>Bruges,</i>	Colard Mansion,	1475 or 1476
<i>Brunæ [Q. Bruns-</i>	{ Anonymous,	1488
<i>wick?]</i>		
<i>Brussels,</i>	Anonymous,	1476
<i>Buda,</i>	Andrew Hess,	1473
<i>Burgdorf,</i>	Anonymous,	1475
<i>Caen,</i>	Jacobus Durand,	1480
<i>Caragossa, [Sara-</i>	{ Anonymous,	1491
<i>gossa]</i>	{ Pablo Hurus,	1499
<i>Colle,</i>	Bonus Gallus,	1471
<i>Cologne,</i>	John Kœlhoff,	1470
<i>Constance,</i>	Anonymous,	1489
<i>Constantinople,</i>	Anonymous,	1490
<i>Convent of Regu-</i>	{ Anonymous,	1500
<i>lars at Schoenho-</i>		
<i>ven,</i>		
<i>Cosenza,</i>	Octavius Salmonius,	1478
<i>Cracow,</i>	Anonymous,	1500
<i>Cremona,</i>	Bernard de Misintis,	1485
<i>Deventer, in Over-</i>	{ Anonymous,	1472
<i>yssel,</i>	{ Richard Paffroit,	1477
<i>Delft,</i>	Jacob Jacobs,	1477
<i>Dijon,</i>	Anonymous,	1491
<i>Dole,</i>	John Hebertus,	1492

<i>Eichstedt</i> ,	Michael Reisser,	1488
<i>Erfurth</i> ,	Anonymous,	1482
<i>Ergow</i> ,	Elias fils Eliæ,	1470
<i>Esslingen</i> , [ <i>Suabia</i> ]	Conrad Fyner,	1475
<i>Ferrara</i> ,	Andrew Gallus,	1471
<i>Florence</i> ,	Bernard & Dominick } Cenini,	1472
<i>Friburg</i> ,	Kilianus,	1493
<i>Gaieta</i> ,	Justo,	1488
<i>Ghent</i> ,	{ Anonymous,	1483
	{ Arend de Keysere,	1485
<i>Geneva</i> ,	{ Anonymous,	1478
	{ Jacobus Arnollet,	1498
<i>Gebennensi</i> ,*	Anonymous,	1481
<i>Genoa</i> ,	Matthew Moravus,	1474
<i>Gentia</i> , [ <i>Q. Ghent?</i> ]	Anonymous,	1480
<i>Goa</i> ,	Anonymous supposed } as early as	1580
<i>St. Giacomo de Rinoli</i> , [ <i>a monastery at Florence</i> ]	{ Dom. de Pistoria,	1477
<i>Gouda</i> ,	{ Anonymous,	1478
	{ Gerard Leeu,	1480
<i>Grenada</i> ,	Anonymous,	1496
	{ Anonymous,	1475
<i>Haguenau</i> ,	{ John de Garlandia,	1489
	{ Henry Gran,	1496
	{ Laurentius,	1430
<i>Haerlem</i> ,	{ John Pieter & Sons,	1442
	{ Jacobus Begaard,	1484
<i>Hasseleti</i> ,	Anonymous,	1481
<i>Heidelberg</i> ,	{ Anonymous,	1480
	{ Jacobus Knoblocker,	1489
<i>Hoolum, Iceland</i> ,	John Mathieson,	1530

\* In the book whence this *adjective* was originally taken, it was, probably, preceded by a *substantive*, indicating some place of the Cévennes. C. D. M.

<i>Ingolstadt,</i>	Peter Appian,*	1492
<i>Lantriguier,</i>	John Casney,	1499
<i>Leipsic,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1481
	{ Marcus Brandt,	1484
<i>Leiria, or Lyra,</i>	Anonymous,	1494
<i>Lewis, Q.</i>	Anonymous,	1479
<i>Leyden,</i>	Anonymous,	1497
<i>Lignitz, [Lignis]</i>	Anonymous,	1481
<i>Lantz,</i>	Peter Asselin,	1500
<i>Lisbon,</i>	Anonymous,	1491
	{ Anonymous,	1481
	{ Will. de Macklinia,	1481
	{ John Lettou	1481
<i>London,</i>	{ Richard Pynson,	1493
	{ Nicolas Le Conte,	1494
	{ Julianus, [Notaire] &	
	{ J. Barbier,	1498
<i>Louvain,</i>	Jo. de Westphalia,	1473
<i>Lubeck,</i>	Lucas Brandiz, Disde } de Schafz, }	1471
<i>Lunenberg,</i>	John Luce,	1493
<i>Lyons,</i>	Bartholomew Buyer,	1477
<i>Madrid,</i>	Anonymous,	1494
<i>Magdeburg,</i>	Anonymous,	1483
<i>Manilla,</i>	Anonymous, as early as	1590
<i>Mantua,</i>	Tho. Septemcastrensis } & Socii, }	1472
<i>Memmingen,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1483
	{ Albert Kune,	1490
	{ Geinsfleiche,	1442
<i>Mentz,</i>	{ Fust and Guttemburg	1450
	{ Fust and Schoeffer,	1455
	{ William Scenberger,	1486
<i>Messina,</i>	{ Andrew de Brugis,	1497
<i>Milan,</i>	Anthony Zarot,	1470

\* He was an astrologer; and the emperor Charles V, presented him with five thousand crowns.



<i>Mirandula,</i>	Anonymous,	1496
<i>Modena,</i>	Balthazar de Struciis,	1477
<i>Montreale, [in Sicily]</i>	Dominick de Nivaldis & filii,	1481
<i>Monte Monachorum,</i>	John Sensenschmidt,	1481
<i>Moscow,</i>	{ Ivan Basilewitz, Peter Timofioffom,	1560
<i>Munster,</i>	John Limburgus,	1486
<i>Nantes,</i>	Stephen Larcher,	1488
<i>Naples,</i>	Sixtus Riessenger,	1471
<i>Nimeguen,</i>	Jo. de Westphalia,	1479
<i>Nuremberg,</i>	Anthony Coburger,	1471
<i>Offenbach,</i>	Anonymous,	1496
<i>Oppenheim,</i>	Anonymous,	1498
<i>Ortona,</i>	Judæi Soncinates,	1496
<i>Oudenarde,</i>	John Cæsar,	1480
	{ Anonymous, [Q. Cor- seillis?]	1468
<i>Oxford,</i>	{ Thomas Hunte, an Englishman who is supposed to have been taught by Caxton,	1480
	{ T. R. [doubtless The- odorick Rood.]	1480
	{ Theodorick Rood,	1481
<i>Padua,</i>	{ Bartholomew de Val- dezochio,	1472
<i>Palermo,</i>	Andrew de Wormacia,	1477
<i>Pampeluna,</i>	William de Brocario,	1496
<i>Paris, [Q. 1464?]</i>	{ Ulric Gering, Martin Crantz, and Micha- el Friburger,	1470
<i>Parma,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1472
	{ Stephen Corallus,	1473
<i>Pavia,</i>	{ Jacobus, de Sancto Pe- tro,	1477
<i>Perpignan,</i>	J. Rosembach,	1500

<i>Perugia,</i>	Stephen Arns,	1481
<i>Pesaro,</i>	Anonymous,	1494
<i>Pescia,</i>	Sigismond Rodt,	1488
<i>Piacenza,</i>	Jo. Peter de Ferratis,	1475
<i>Pigneroli,</i>	Jacobus de Rubeis,	1475
<i>Pisa,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1482
	{ Gregory de Gente,	1485
<i>Placentia,</i>	John Peter,	1475
	{ Anonymous, <i>in libris</i>	
	<i>Canonici Ecclesie</i>	
<i>Poitiers,</i>	B. Hilarii,	1479
	John de Marnef,	1500
<i>Provence</i> [in } <i>Champagne</i> }	William Tabernier,	1497
<i>Quilambourg,</i>	Anonymous,	1480
<i>Reggio,</i>	{ Prosp. Odoardus, Alb. }	1481
	Maguli,	
<i>Reutlingen,</i>	John Averbach,	1469
<i>Ratisbon,</i>	Anonymous,	1471
<i>Rimini,</i>	Anonymous,	1486
	{ Conrad Sweynheim, }	
<i>Rome,</i>	{ Arnold Pannartz,* }	1466

\* They printed several years; and after having produced a great number of beautiful and correct editions of books, these ingenious printers were reduced to the most necessitous circumstances. Their learned patron, the bishop of Aleria, presented a petition to pope Sixtus IV, in 1471, in their behalf, in which he takes notice of their great merit, and represents their misery in the most pathetic terms; and, declares their readiness to part with their whole stock for subsistence. They say, "We were the first of the Germans who introduced this art, with vast labor and expense, into the territories of your holiness, in the time of your predecessor; and encouraged, by our example, other printers to do the same. If you peruse the catalogue of the works printed by us, you will admire how and where we could procure a sufficient quantity of paper, or even rags, for such a number of volumes. The total of these books amount in number to 12,475 volumes; a pro-

<i>Rostoch,</i>	{ <i>Presbyteri et Clerici</i>	
	{ <i>Congregationis do-</i>	1476
	{ <i>mus viridis horti,</i>	
<i>Rouen,</i>	John Le Bourgeois,*	1488
<i>Salamanca,</i>	Anonymous,	1495
<i>Salonichi,</i>	Anonymous,	1493
<i>Scandiani,</i>	Peregrine Pascal,	1495
<i>Schoenhoven,</i>	{ Anonymous, in <i>Con-</i>	
	{ <i>ventu Regularium,</i>	1500
<i>Schiedam, Sedani,</i>	{ Anonymous,	1498
<i>Sedan,</i>		
<i>Seville,</i>	Paul de Colonia,	1491
<i>Sienna,</i>	Sigismund Rodt,	1489
	{ Anonymous,	1484
<i>Soncino,</i>	{ Abraham filius Rabbi	
	{ Hhajim,	1488
<i>Sorten Monasterium,</i>	Anonymous,	1478
<i>Spire,</i>	Petrus Drach,	1477
<i>Stockholm,</i>	John Faber,	1495
	{ John Guttemburg,†	1441
<i>Strasburg,</i>	{ Henry Eggestein,	1464
	{ or	1471

digious heap, and intolerable to us, your holiness's printers, by reason of those unsold. We are no longer able to bear the great expense of housekeeping for want of buyers; of which there cannot be a more flagrant proof, than that our house, though otherwise spacious enough, is full of books, in quires, but void of every necessary of life," [See Palmer's Hist. Print. p. 130.] Those printers first attempted the Roman types, now in use, anno 1466; but, they were not brought to perfection till many years afterward.

\* It is probable that he was the inventor of that description of types, which is still called after him, Bourgeois.

† I take notice of Guttemburg as a printer at Strasburg, although historians do not allow that he brought any work to perfection there. He certainly made many attempts at printing in that city.

<i>Sublaco*</i> <i>Abbey,</i>	{	Anonymous,	1465
<i>Campagna,</i>		Anonymous,	1486
<i>Toledo,</i>	{	John Teller,	1495
<i>Toulouse,</i>		Anonymous,	1486
<i>Treca,</i>	{	Anonymous,	1480
<i>Treviso,</i>		William Le Rouge,	1492
<i>Tubingen,</i>	{	Girard de Lisa de	
<i>Turin,</i>		Flandria,	1471
	{	Fred. Meynberger,	1488
		John Fabri, and Jo. de	
	{	Petro,	1474
		Anonymous, <i>in domo</i>	
<i>Tours,</i>	{	<i>Gulielmi Archiep.</i>	
		<i>Turonensis,</i>	1467
<i>Valencia,</i>	{	Anonymous,	1475
		Alphonsus de Orta,	1496
	{	Rodolt,	1468
		Joh. de Spira,	1469
<i>Venice,</i>	{	Joh. & Vindelin de	
		Spira,	
	{	Nicolaus Jenson,	1470
		Christo. Baldarfer,	
	{	Zaccaria Calliergo,†	1499
<i>Verona,</i>		Jo. Nicolai filius,	1472
<i>Vicenza,</i>	{	Hermanus Levilapis,	
		or Lichtenstein,	1475
<i>Vienna,</i>	{	Anonymous,	1481
<i>Vienne [Dauphiné]</i>		Peter Schenck,	1484

\* Some write *Subiaco*; but, probably, it should be *Subbiaro*.

† Calliergo was born in Crete. He was a learned man; and skilful in printing Greek. He was many years at Venice. In 1515, under the patronage of pope Leo X, he set up a press in the house, and at the expense of the learned Agostino at Rome; where he printed a fine quarto edition of the works of Pindar. This was the first Greek book which was printed at Rome.

## IN EUROPE, &amp;c.

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<i>Viterbo,</i>	Anonymous,	1480
<i>Ulm,</i>	John Zeiner,	1473
<i>Urbino,</i>	Anonymous,	1484
<i>Udine,</i>	Anonymous,	1498
<i>Utrecht,</i>	{ Nicholas Ketzlaer, }	1473
	{ Gerard de Lumpt, }	
<i>Westminster,</i>	{ William Caxton,	1475
	{ Wynkyn de Worde,	1495
<i>Zwoll,</i>	Anonymous,	1479

## AMERICA.

*Spanish Provinces.*

<i>Mexico</i> [city, in the }	as early as	1600
<i>Province of</i> }		
<i>Lima, Peru,</i>	Anonymous, about	1590

*British Colonies, now the UNITED STATES.*

<i>Cambridge, Massa-</i>	{ Stephen Daye,	1639
<i>chusetts,</i>	{ Samuel Green,	1649
<i>Boston, do.</i>	John Foster,	1674
<i>Philadelphia</i> [near }	William Bradford,	1687
<i>to,] Pennsylvania,</i>	do. do.	1689
<i>Philadelphia,</i>	{ William Bradford, who	
<i>Newyork,</i>	{ removed from Phila-	1693
.	delphia,	

<i>Newlondon, Connec-</i>	{	Thomas Short,	1709
<i>ticut,</i>			
<i>Newport, Rhodeisl-</i>	{	James Franklin,	1732
<i>and,</i>			
<i>Annapolis, Maryland,</i>	{	William Parks,	1726
<i>Williamsburg, Vir-</i>		William Parks, who	
<i>ginia,</i>	{	removed from An-	
<i>Charlestown, South-</i>		napolis,	1729
<i>carolina,</i>	{	Eleazar Phillips,	1730
<i>Woodbridge, Newjer-</i>			
<i>sey,</i>	{	Samuel Parker,	1752
<i>Newbern, Northca-</i>			
<i>rolina,</i>	{	James Davies,	1755
<i>Portsmouth, New-</i>			
<i>hampshire,</i>	{	Daniel Fowle,	1756
<i>Savannah, Georgia,</i>		James Johnson,	1762

*Other Colonies and Islands.*

<i>Halifax, Novascotia,</i>	{	Bartholomew Green,	{	1751
		the younger,		
	{	John Bushell,	{	
<i>Quebec, Canada,</i>	{	William Brown, and	{	1764
		—— Gilmore,		
	{	partners,	{	
		about		1725
<i>Kingston, Jamaica,</i>	{	David Harry,	{	1730
<i>Bridgetown, Barba-</i>		Samuel Keimer,		1731
<i>does,</i>	{		{	
<i>Bassaterre, St. Chris-</i>		Thomas Howe,		1747
<i>topher,</i>	{		{	
<i>St. John, Antigua,</i>		Benjamin Mecom,		1752
<i>Roseau, Dominica,</i>	{	William Smith,	{	1765
<i>St. Georgestown,</i>				
<i>Dominica,</i>	{	William Wayland,	{	1765

The city of Venice was greatly celebrated for near a century, on account of the elegance and correctness of the printing performed there. Aldo Manuzio, or Aldus Manutius, his son, and grandson, were three of the most ingenious and learned printers of the age in which they lived. They are not mentioned in the preceding list, because they were not among the first who spread abroad the knowledge of the art. They did not flourish till the sixteenth century—but I am unwilling to pass by such eminent professors of the art; and, for that reason, introduce them here.

*Aldus Manutius*, born at Bassano, in Italy, printed at Venice, in 1513, the works of Plato, and dedicated them to pope Leo X; the Greek types which he made for this book were much superior to any that had been cast before. He was the inventor of that description of types called the *cursive*, or *Italic*. The pope granted him the exclusive privilege, for fifteen years, of reprinting and publishing all the Greek and Latin books which he had already printed, or might afterwards print from types invented or improved by himself. This privilege was secured by a denunciation, of heavy penalties, and the terrors of excommunication against all such as should invade it. At the same time, it was recommended to Aldus, or Aldo, to sell his books at a reasonable price; and the pope expressed his confidence in the integrity and obedience of the printer.\* Manutius was an accomplished scholar; and died in 1516.

\* Roscoe's Leo X. Vol. ii.

*Paulus Manutius*, son of Aldus, succeeded his father, at Venice, and it is said that he excelled him in learning. He removed to Rome; where pope Pius IV, put him at the head of the apostolic press, and committed the library of the Vatican to his care. He died anno 1574.

*Aldus Manutius*, the son of Paulus, was esteemed the greatest genius, and the most learned man of his time. Pope Clement VIII, made him director of the Vatican printing house. The profits of that establishment were but small; and he was obliged to accept the chair of the professor of rhetoric. Still he was poor, and was obliged, as a mean of subsistence, to sell the excellent library which had been collected by his father, his uncle, and his great uncle, with extraordinary care and expense. It was reported that it contained 80,000 volumes. He died at Rome in 1597.

These three great men were all celebrated as authors, and eminent as translators.

Having given this account of these excellent Venetian printers, I cannot forbear making some mention of the highly renowned *Stephani*, of Paris.

*Henry Stephens*, the first of these distinguished men, was born in France, soon after the discovery of printing, i. e. about 1465. He settled at Paris, and there published a number of books in Latin, printed with Roman letter, which was well made for that period. He died about the year 1520; and left three sons, Francis, Robert and Charles; who were all printers, and two of them became very celebrated authors. The widow of Henry married Simon de Colines; and she put him in possession



of Stephens's printing house ; of which he remained master till he died.

*Robert Stephens*, the second son, was born in 1503. He made so great proficiency in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, that at the age of nineteen, his father in law, De Colines, intrusted him with the management of his press. He married Perette, the daughter of Jodocus Badius, who was a printer, and an author. She was a learned woman, and well acquainted with Latin. In 1539, Francis I, made him his printer, and ordered a new set of elegant types to be founded for him. Robert published several editions of the New Testament ; the annotations to which gave great offence to the doctors of the Sorbonne ; who became so troublesome to him, that, notwithstanding he was patronised by the French king, Henry II, he abandoned his country, and went to Geneva. It was he who first divided the New Testament into verses, during a journey between Paris and Lyons. The advantages of this alteration, are fully counterbalanced, say the editors of the Encyclopedia, by its defects ;—"it has destroyed the unity of the books, and induced many commentators to consider every verse as a distinct and independent aphorism ; and, to this, in a great measure, is to be ascribed the many absurd interpretations that have been forced out of that book." But Robert Stephens arrived at an honor, the like of which no printer, or learned man beside himself, ever attained ; for he made a collection of manuscripts of the New Testament, and from all those which he collated, he formed the Greek text of the New Testament which is now in use among us ; and

from which our present translation was made. The learned dr. Richard Bentley speaks of this performance in these terms.—“The present text,” of the New Testament, “was first settled almost two hundred [now near three hundred] years ago, out of several MSS. by Robert Stephens, a printer and bookseller at Paris; whose beautiful, and, generally speaking, accurate edition, has been ever since counted the standard, and followed by all the rest.”\*

The books of which he was the author, editor and publisher, were said to amount to three hundred and sixty. Among them was a Greek Testament, with the Latin translations of Erasmus and Veteris on each side, which formed three columns on a page. There is nothing very remarkable in the Latin, but the Greek types were as elegant and as well executed, as any that were ever used in a press. The paper for that work was also remarkably fine; perhaps, superior to any which is now made. Robert, like his father, left three sons, who were all printers.

I have a copy of Cicero's Orations, printed by this R. Stephens, from the cursive type, in 1544, which has in the title page the device, or mark, which he put to all his books, of “a branched fruit tree,” under which is a man looking and pointing up to it. Some of the smaller branches are represented as having been cut, and are falling to the ground. On a label displayed from a lower branch of the tree, are these words—*Noli Altum Sapere*.

\* Bentley's Remarks, p. 68.

*Charles*, the third son of Henry, was a printer, a physician, and an author. He wrote thirty treatises on various subjects ; particularly, on botany, anatomy and history. His printing was distinguished by the neatness and elegance of it. He lived in Paris, and died anno 1564.

*Robert*, the grandson of Henry, remained in Paris, where he was printer to the king. His types were uncommonly handsome. He died about 1589 ; and was succeeded by Francis, his brother, who had been a printer in Geneva.

*Henry*, the third son of Robert, was born at Paris in 1528. He was a printer and an astronomer ; and, was the most learned, and the most renowned, of all the family. He travelled to Rome, Naples, &c. in the service of the French government. He wrote and printed the *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ* ; which, considering the wretched materials that more ancient dictionaries furnished, and the size and perfection whereto he brought his work, may be considered as the greatest undertaking of the kind that ever was executed by one man. It was carried on at a greater expense than he could support ; and he was not remunerated by the sale of the book. His own servant, John Scapula, extracted from his manuscripts whatever he thought would be serviceable to students, and anticipated the publication of Stephens's work. By this act of treachery Henry Stephens was reduced to poverty. He was in favor with his sovereign, Henry III, of France ; and frequently resided at court. The civil war prevented the king from doing what he intended for Stephens ; and, in consequence of his dis-

tressed situation, his mind became unsettled—he imbibed a distaste for books—again travelled; and, died at Lyons in 1598, aged 70. It is said of him that he composed and even wrote poetry on horse-back, during his travels. His works were numerous, and some of them elaborate—his publications of other authors were manifold; a great proportion of them were Greek, some Latin, and a few in the oriental languages. He printed most of the Greek classics, which were remarkably correct.

*Paul*, the son of the last mentioned Henry Stephens, and great grandson of the first, settled at Geneva. He, also, was a man of learning; translated several books; and, published a number of the ancient classics. His editions were not equal to those of his father, in point of elegance. He sold his types to one Chowet, a printer, and soon after died, in 1620, aged 60.

*Anthony Stephens*, the last printer of the family, the son of Paul, and great great grandson of the first Henry, was born in Geneva. He apostatised from the protestant religion, went to France, the country of his ancestors, and became printer to the king; but, as he mismanaged his affairs, he was reduced to poverty, retired to an hospital, became blind, and died in miserable circumstances, anno 1674, aged 80.

There are no certain records to ascertain the periods at which the art of Printing was introduced into Scotland and Ireland. The earliest book from the press in Scotland that has been discovered, is a Breviary of the Church at Aberdeen, printed at

Edinburgh in 1509, thirty six years after the establishment of the press at Westminster by Caxton. The first printers known in Scotland, Ireland, and even in London, were from Germany.

Printing was introduced into Russia, anno 1560; it was early practised in Spanish America, as well as at Goa, Manilla; on the coast of Coromandel, at Tranquebar,\* and in the cold regions of Iceland. Dr. Van Troil, in his Letters on Iceland, mentions, that a press was established at Hoolum, or Hola, in the north part of the island in 1530; and, the Icelandic Bible printed there in 1584. Mr. Bryant, also, writes that it was early practised there; he observes, that "Arngrim Jones was born amidst the snows of Iceland; yet, as much prejudiced in favor of his country, as those who are natives of a happier climate; this is visible in his *Crymogæa*, but more particularly in his *Anatome Blefkiniana*. I have in my possession that curious little treatise, written in Latin, in his own country, and printed *Typis Holensibus in Islandiâ Boreali*, anno 1612. Hola is placed in some maps within the arctic circle, and is, certainly, not far removed from it. I believe the arts and sciences have never travelled farther north in any part of the world."†

\* A book, entitled, "Novum Testamentum Malebaricum, a Ziigenbalg & Grundler," in quarto, printed at Tranquebar, in 1619, is now in the library of Harvard college.

† Observations and Inquiries relating to various Parts of ancient History. Published in 1767; p. 277. The first book printed at Hoolum, was the *Breviarium Nidarosiense*. Mathieson, the printer, was from Sweden.

## MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

*On Printers and Printing.*

AFTER Printing was introduced into the European world, the scribes used their utmost endeavors to excel, in order to preserve their stations in society; but they were soon obliged to give way to the press, as the works performed by it were sold much cheaper than those of the scribes could possibly be afforded.

In the early stages of Printing, the name of the printer, his place of residence, and the date of the performance, were put at the end of each book; and, generally, accompanied by some pious ejaculation, or doxology, in prose or verse.\*

\* In the edition of "The Pragmatic Sanction," printed by Andrew Bocard at Paris, 1507, the following curious couplet is to be found.

"Stat, liber, hic donec fluctus formica marinos  
Exhibat; et totum testudo perambulet orbem."

IMITATED.

May this volume continue in motion,  
And its pages each day be unfurl'd,  
'Till an ant to the dregs drinks the ocean,  
Or a tortoise has crawl'd round the world.

[See Appendix, for ancient colophons, &c.]

Ancient printers did not divide words at the end of lines by hyphens. In order to avoid that, they used to "get in," according to the technical phrase; or, to speak more intelligibly, they made use of vowels with a mark of abbreviation, which denoted that one or more letters were omitted in the syllable where it was placed; e. g. cōpose, compose; cōple-tiō, completion, &c. The great number and variety of abbreviations that were introduced in the course of time, at length created no trifling obstacles for the reader to overcome.

For many years the printing done in England was inferior to that executed on the neighboring continent. After the art was generally practised throughout Europe, it greatly degenerated. Respecting England, John Nichols, an experienced printer of London, observes, that "Caxton and Rood were indifferently good printers. De Worde and Pynson were worse, and those that followed them, most abominable."

In punctuation, no points were used except the colon and full point; but, after some time, an oblique stroke thus / was introduced, in the place of which the comma was afterward substituted.

The orthography of those times was various, often arbitrary; and, syntax was disregarded. Capitals were not used according to our present rules. Proper names and sentences, were often begun with small letters, as well as the beginning of lines in poetry.

Except some of the first essays of Laurentius, most printed books were of the folio or quarto sizes;

and this practice continued a long time after the art was introduced into England.

The first essay at printing Greek was made by Fust and Schoeffer, in Tully's Offices, anno 1465. They used only a few characters, and those were very rude. Some were made and introduced into Lactantius's Institutes, printed the same year at a monastery in the kingdom of Naples, which were much better executed than those of Fust and Schoeffer. The Italian printers made use of very decent Greek types about the year 1470; and they were brought to a high degree of perfection by the Stephani in Paris, before the year 1540.

About the year 1465, types of a kind of semi-Gothic character, far more elegant than the old German, or the **blacks** used at the present time, were introduced at Venice. They, in shape, approached near to the Roman types, which, in less than two years after, were invented and used at Rome.

The Roman type, which is now, and for nearly two centuries has been, in general use in Italy, France, England, Spain, Portugal, and America, made its first appearance in the capital of his holiness the pope, in an edition of Cicero's *Epistolæ Familiares*, printed by the brothers Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, in 1466. This type was improved in Italy, and brought to nearly its present degree of perfection, as early as the year 1490.

The *Italic* character, anciently called by some *cursive*, and by others *Aldine*, was invented by Aldo Manuzio, at Venice, about the year 1505.

Printing with Hebrew characters, appears to have been first performed at Soncino, in the dutchy



of Milan, anno 1482, and at Naples anno 1487. The first works printed with them were, the Pentateuch in 1482. The greater prophets, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, in 1484. The lesser prophets in 1486. The Hagiographa in 1487. The three first printed at Soncino, the last at Naples.\* The whole text of the Hebrew scriptures, was printed in one volume folio, in 1488, at Soncino, by Abraham Ben Rabbi Rhajim.

### *Stereotype Printing.*

THE method of printing, at this time, is, generally, the same as it was formerly ; for although some improvements have been made, very few of them have been brought into common practice ; and, with such as have been introduced, it is certain that modern printing does not much exceed that degree of perfection to which the art arrived about forty years after it was discovered in Europe.

As I have mentioned in another place, it was the principal aim of those who first practised printing, to imitate, as nearly as possible, the beautiful script, or writing, of the scribes ; and, their object

\* This edition is said by Dr. Pellet, who presented a copy of it to Eton College library, in England, to contain many curious readings different from all other printed copies, and contrary to the Masora. It is mentioned, I believe, by Dr. Kennicott, that this edition, excepting a few copies which happened to be saved, was destroyed. Dr. Pellet says, *Hoc exemplar unicum, et flammis, ereptum, uti par est credere.*

was not fame, but profit. The most valuable manuscript books commanded a high price ; and the inventors of Printing kept the art secret, in order to obtain as much for their printed copies, as was paid for those which were written.

They might have another reason for secrecy ; for every one must have observed, that if an invention is calculated to lessen labor and diminish the number of laborers in any branch of art, particularly in Europe, such inventions, frequently, give rise to mobs and tumults, and put to hazard the lives of the inventors ; and, as the scribes were a very numerous body, the lives and property of those who had invented a method to destroy their business, might have been endangered ; therefore, it was most prudent to conceal the discovery. A press was more than once set up at Constantinople, but the scribes, it is said, had influence enough to suppress it ; and, I am told, it was not till about the year 1784, that Printing could be effectually introduced there.

From the necessity the printers were under, both upon principles of interest and safety, to imitate the neatness of the ancient scribes, we can account for the beauty of the earliest printed books. This is, also, a sufficient reason why the discovery of the art in Europe, is involved in so much obscurity ; and, why so much difficulty has been experienced in the attempts which have been made to ascertain who were the first inventors of Printing, and the place where the discovery was first made. After printing became generally known, and Europe was furnished with a sufficient number of workmen, books were multiplied in so great a degree that

purchasers of them at the high prices they were then sold for, could not be found. In order to promote the sale, cheap editions were made of inferior materials, and by inferior workmen; and, in this way, we can readily conceive that the art of Printing degenerated.

It may appear strange, that after the art had been brought, as it were, to perfection, the professors of it should again revert to first principles, and consider the original plan as an improvement on modern practice; yet, this appears to have been the case, in respect to those who have introduced stereotype printing; or, the method of printing from metal blocks, instead of moveable types. By those who are not better informed, this mode of book-making is considered as a modern invention. The friends of the celebrated Didot, in Paris, have ascribed it to him; others have given it to British artists of the present day. The truth is, that it is more than a century since printing from metal plates, or blocks, was practised in Holland. This will appear by the following extract from a work printed in 1798.\*

“About a hundred years ago, the Dutch were in possession of the art of printing with solid or fixed types, which, in every respect, was superior to that of Didot’s stereotype. It may, however, be readily comprehended, that these letters were not cut in so elegant a manner, especially when we re-

\* “*Nieuw Algemeen Konst en Letter Boek*,” 1798. N. 232. Vide Philosophical Mag. Edited by Alexander Tilloch, esq. Vol. X, published in London.

flect on the progress which typography has made since that period. Samuel and J. Leuchtman, booksellers at Leyden, have still in their possession the forms of a quarto Bible, which were constructed in this ingenious manner. Many thousand impressions were thrown off, which are in every body's hands, and the letters are still good. The inventor of this useful art was J. Van der Mey, father of the well known painter of that name. About the end of the sixteenth century, he resided at Leyden. With the assistance of Muller, the clergyman of the German congregation there, who carefully superintended the correction, he prepared and cast the plates for the above mentioned quarto Bible. This Bible he published also in folio, with large margins, ornamented with figures, the forms of which are still in the hands of Elwe, bookseller at Amsterdam; also, an English New Testament, and Schaaf's Syriac dictionary, the forms of which were melted down; and, likewise, a small Greek Testament in 18mo. As far as is known, Van der Mey printed nothing else in this manner; and the art of preparing solid blocks was lost at his death; or, at least, was not afterwards employed."

The next person who printed in this way, was William Ged, an ingenious goldsmith in Edinburgh. He began to prosecute this business about the year 1725. His method was, to set up common types into pages of the work intended to be printed; and, from those pages to form moulds to cast the blocks; which, when cast, were fitted for the press. He removed from Edinburgh to London, and formed a partnership with Thomas James, then the most

celebrated, if not the only type founder in that city ; and, with William Fennor, a stationer, who was to furnish money, on condition that he should receive one half of the profits. In 1730, these partners applied to the university of Cambridge, England, for the privilege of printing Bibles and Prayer Books, in this way ; and obtained it. They expended large sums of money in attempts to bring their plan to perfection. They completed the Prayer Book in 8vo. and in 12mo. and had the larger part of the Bible prepared on blocks, when they relinquished the undertaking. It seems that one of the partners became hostile to the plan, and, in connivance with the workmen, contrived to have the work executed very erroneously ; and, the pressmen designedly battered the forms. The books, in consequence, were suppressed by authority, and the plates were sent to the king's printing house, and from thence to the foundry, where they were melted down. Ged returned to Edinburgh, much disappointed, where he printed and published in 1736, by a subscription from his friends, an edition of Sallust from cast plates. He, afterward, manufactured plates for Scougal's " Life of God in the Soul of Man," which was printed in 12mo. on a writing pot, with this imprint, " Newcastle : Printed and sold by John White, from plates made by William Ged, Goldsmith in Edinburgh ; 1742." He died in 1749. His son, who was bred a printer, published, in 1751, proposals for renewing the stereotype printing ; but, not meeting with success, he went to Jamaica, and died there.

The ingenious and learned Alexander Tilloch, of Glasgow, when he resided in that city about

thirty years since, is said to have made a *second* discovery of the art of stereotype printing; and, declared himself ignorant of its having been previously practised, or even attempted. Until he had nearly completed the invention, he believed it was entirely his own, when he discovered, that, fifty years before, Ged had printed several works from stereotype plates; and, he further ascertained that, near fifty years before Ged, stereotype printing had been practised by Vander Mey, in Holland. "A knowledge of these facts," says Tilloch, in a treatise he wrote on the subject, "lessened the value of the discovery so much in my estimation, that I felt but little anxiety to be known as a *second* inventor." He, however, pursued the business. Foulis, printer to the university of Glasgow, assisted him. They printed two or three small works from the plates which they made; and, sold the editions to the trade, without any intimation of their being executed out of the common way. They then took out patents for stereotype printing in England and Scotland; and, in 1783, they printed Xenophon's *Anabasis*, in Greek, in that way. They nearly completed the plates for several of the English poets; but, that work was delayed by circumstances which induced them to set the business aside, and it never was resumed.

Some years after this, Didot, a very celebrated printer at Paris, revived this art of founding pages; and applied it, in the first instance, to logarithmic tables, for which it is well adapted. He then proceeded to print some of the classics, and other

works, all of which do him much credit ; being executed with great neatness and accuracy.

About the same time, lord Stanhope, a British nobleman, having received from Tilloch some information respecting the method of casting plates for letter press, undertook to revive, perfect and establish stereotype printing in England. After two years of application, with the aid of Foulis of Glasgow, who had assisted Tilloch, and Wilson, an ingenious printer in London, his lordship succeeded, not only in casting plates with facility ; but, also, in the construction of a press more suitable for stereotype printing than that now in common use.

Stereotyping, as it is termed, is now adopted by many printers in Europe, for standard books which command an extensive sale ; and which are not subject to alteration or amendment. The principal object accomplished by this innovation, is a saving in case work ; but, no advantage of any consequence can be made in books printed with letter of larger size than long primer. The benefit is derived from heavy works, printed from bodies of bourgeois, brevier, and pearl. Large editions of the Old and New Testament, and other books, in various languages, have been printed, in Europe, by this method, for the several societies for propagating the gospel in the Eastindies, and other countries. Part of a large edition of Morell's abridgment of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, was lately published in London from stereotype plates.

*Logographic Printing.*

A mode of printing with types of words, instead of single letters, was sometime since introduced in England, and much was said about "the logographic press." This novelty, as is usual with new things, attracted much custom for logographic publications; but it soon ceased, and we heard no more of logographic typography. It was set aside; for, like casting Chinese characters, to print the language of that country, it would answer no valuable purpose. I eagerly cast my eyes on a book, announced by the title page to be printed in London, "logographically;" I had not read twenty lines before I saw an inverted letter, and, further on, a transposition of letters. A little further still, I found a word divided with a space; and, notwithstanding the declaration in the title page, I was soon convinced that single types were generally used in the work.

*Engraving Machine.*

A MACHINE to multiply copies of manuscripts, or books of common size, was invented, in 1781, by the ingenious M. Rochon, afterwards director of the marine observatory at the port of Brest. This



machine engraves, with great celerity and correctness, the pages of a book, or manuscript, on as many plates of copper.\* The machine was submitted to the inspection of a committee of the royal academy of sciences; which committee made the following report respecting its utility, viz.

“ This machine appears to us to unite several advantages, 1. Engraved editions of books may be executed by this means superior to those which can be made by the hand of the engraver, however skillful; and these engraved originals will be made with much more speed, and much less expense. 2. As this machine is portable, and of no considerable bulk, it may become very useful in armies, fleets and public offices, for the impression of orders, instructions, &c. 3. It possesses the advantage which, in a variety of circumstances, is highly valuable, of being capable of being used by any man of intelligence and skill, without requiring the assistance of any professional workman. And, lastly, it affords the facility of waiting for the entire composition and engravings of a work, before any of the copies are printed off; the expense of plates, even for a work of considerable magnitude, being an object of little charge; and the liberty it affords to authors, may prove highly beneficial in works of which the chief merit consists in the order, method and connexion of ideas.”

\* The manner of the construction and operation of this engraving machine, may be seen in the third volume of the supplement to the Encyclopedia, published several years since at Philadelphia, page 425.

“Many well informed persons are of opinion, that the perfect equality which this machine for engraving affords, in the formation of letters and signs the most difficult to be imitated, might be the means of remedying the dangers of forgery. It is certain, that the performance exhibits a simple and striking character of precision, which is such, that persons of the least experience might flatter themselves, in certain cases, to distinguish counterfeits from originals. Lavoisier, whom the friends of science, and of the arts, will not cease to regret, made some experiments of this kind for the Caisse d'Escompte, which were attended with perfect success. Artists, appointed for the purpose, endeavored in vain to imitate a vignette, formed by the successive and equal motion of a character of ornament.”

### *Ancient Engraving.*

NEARLY all the treatises which have been written concerning engraving, speak of it as an art which is of modern invention; and the authors of them have considered Maso Finiguerra of Florence, as the father of this branch of designing. But I have already shewn, on the authority of scripture, and from other monuments of antiquity, that the art of engraving was known in very remote ages; and abundance of other testimony might be ad-

ded, to what has already been produced, on this subject.

Man is an imitative creature. According to Strabo, it was Homer's sublime descriptions of the gods which awakened the conceptions of the eminent statuary among the Greeks, and led them to attempt the expression of his ideas in marble. Hence was derived that noble performance, the Jupiter of Phidias. This opinion may be carried much farther back ; and we may, on reasonable ground, conclude that men, in the earliest ages of the world, made sensible representations of the objects of their meditation, in various ways, and on different substances. From this desire of imitating the figures of animated nature, that of man in particular, we may conclude arose the hieroglyphics, formerly used, which were some of the most ancient representations of things produced by the indefatigable ingenuity of man. Recundier, in his descriptions of Egyptian antiquities, gives an account of hieroglyphics, seen by members of the French national institute, which they supposed were several thousand years old. Engraving, carving, statuary, and, we may presume, painting, and the various methods of designing, were known when the Israelites were in Egypt ; as they are forbidden, in the decalogue, to make any *graven* image, or other representations of things, which were used by ancient nations, in their religious ceremonies—that engraving was practised by the children of Israel, has already been proved, by passages from the writings of Moses.

Nummrous are the authors who inform us, that among the Greeks, engraving is of great antiquity. In proof of this fact, many examples might be given, beside the instances already alluded to. The most curious monument of antiquity now extant is the apothecosis of Homer; a work of Archelaus of Priene, said to be now in the palace of Colonna. This engraving is, like to the description given of the shield of Achilles, in various compartments. In one of them is Homer, in a chair, attended by various emblematical representations; and behind him is Time, and a female figure representing the World, crowning him with laurel. Beneath this compartment is the following inscription—ΟΗΚΟΤΜΕΝΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΑΙΛΑΙ ΟΑΥΣΕΙΛΑ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ. A group is seen advancing to sacrifice on an altar, which is before him; and, beneath those figures, are descriptions of them in Greek capitals—ΙΕΤΟΡΙΑ ΗΟΜΗΕΙΕ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΚΟΜΩΔΙΑ ΟΥΤΕΙ ΑΡΕΤΗ ΜΗΗΜΕ ΜΕΤΕΙΕ ΕΘΝΑ. In another part of this performance is an inscription engraved, also in Greek capitals, stating that it was the work of Archelaus Polionius of Priene. A very ancient bust of Homer is in the Farnese palace at Rome, with his name engraved on it, in Greek capitals. Of ancient Grecian engravings, in metal, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

That the Romans possessed the art of engraving in stone, and metal, is a fact we are well acquainted with. The Roman monuments which attest this truth, are as numerous as those of the Greeks. We may presume that engraving was practised in Rome as early as the time of Numa, from the circumstance of the making of the *Ancylia*, by Veturius Ma-

murius.\* Numa presented an extremely curious shield to the Romans, which he pretended to have received from the god Mars, as a palladium of the city; and in order to prevent its being stolen, a reward was offered to any one who could make so exact an imitation of it, as would deceive any person who might be disposed to carry it off, as Ulysses did the palladium from Troy. Mamurius succeeded in making eleven others, so exactly like it, that the true *ancyle* could not be distinguished from the copies.†

Historians have, also, related that the twelve tables of the Roman decemvirs were engraved on brass; but some of them have mentioned that the decemvirs sent their ambassadors to Greece, to collect the laws recorded on the tables in question—*ollatas a Græciæ leges*.—It may, therefore, be contended, that those tables were engraved at Athens. But this circumstance would not invalidate the fact I wish to establish, namely, that engraving in metal was practised in the time of the Roman decemvirs. It may be further objected, that though Heinneccius‡ maintains that the twelve tables were of *aereas*, brass, yet in the text of Pomponius we read *eboreas*, ivory; for which Scaliger has substituted *roboreas*,

\* Virgil carries the practice of engraving shields, higher than the time of which we are treating. Speaking of one of the kings who fought against Eneas, he says,

————— Clypeoque insigni paternum  
Centum angues, cinctamque gerit serpentibus hydras.  
ÆNEID.

† Plutarch, in Vit. Numa.

‡ Hist. J. R. c. i. No. 26.

oak, or other hard wood.\* To this it may be answered, that *modern* verbal criticisms cannot invalidate the evidence for the existence of engraving, in ancient Rome, because Suetonius† relates that three thousand brass plates, on which were engraven the acts of the Roman senate and people, had been deposited in the capitol. As to the twelve tables having been engraved at Athens, there is much reason to doubt that the Roman decemvirs ever sent messengers there; for Josephus,‡ in speaking of a later period, observes, “The city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any of their contemporaries; and it is very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became acquainted with the Greeks.” Plutarch,§ also, in giving an account of the irruption of the Galli Senones, or Gauls, into Italy, says, “Heraclides of Pontus, who lived not long after those times, in his treatise *concerning the soul*, relates that an army from the country of the Hyperboreans, had taken a Greek city, called Rome, situated somewhere near the great sea.” It is true, we are told, that before the period of which we are now speaking, the Romans had contended with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, they thought, was king of all Greece; but they hardly seem to have known where his country was

\* Bynkershoek, p. 286. † In *Vespasian*, c. 8.

‡ *Contra Apion*. Vol. 6, p. 208. Worcester edition of Whiston's translation.

§ In *vit. Camil.*

situated. He invaded the Roman territory as the ally of the Grecian colony of Tarentum; and when he was beaten out of Italy, the Romans did not appear to know where he was gone—*In Græciam suam trans mare ac terras fugato.\**

I might write a volume concerning ancient engravings in wood, bricks, marble, gems, and a variety of materials, beside metals; but that is unnecessary; because I can mention proofs of the antiquity of engraving, which are under almost every man's observation—I mean in the articles of medals and coins.

We have not any certain data to determine the first invention of medals or coins; they were known in ancient times among the nations of Asia. But it does not appear they were in use among the Hebrews before the time of their kings. When Abraham paid for the cave of Machpelah he *weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.†* Here it must be observed, that the word *money* is not found in the Hebrew; nor is the word *pieces*, used Gen. xxxvii. 28, in the original. It is probable that in the first of these texts *silver* should have been inserted; and, shekels in the other;—for as money was weighed by the shekel in those days, it is likely the Ishmaelites who bought Joseph, paid his brethren twenty shekels of silver for him. From Gen. xliii. 21, we find that the sons of Jacob paid for their corn, in Egypt, in money by weight. When the

\* Florus, lib. 1, cap. 18.      † Gen. xxiii. 16.

Israelites left Egypt they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold;—had coined money been in use, they would, probably, have borrowed that also. The same argument will apply to the subscriptions, or offerings; for the tabernacle, where we find *both men and women brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold*. Had coined money been current among them, it is likely they would have presented that, and saved their more costly jewels. With earrings Aaron made the golden calf, or symbol of the Egyptian god Apis, or Serapis—*And he received them at their hand, and FASHIONED IT WITH A GRAVING TOOL, after he had made it a molten calf.*† Coins must have been introduced among the Israelites after these times.

It has been pretended that money was first coined by Phidon, king of Argos, about the year A. C. 870; but it is certain that money was known in much earlier times. The Greeks excelled all nations in the beauty and delicacy of their coins. They had the skill of expressing the veins and muscles with such exquisite art, as the Romans never could imitate. Many Greek coins are extant which are older than the time of Alexander; and there are Sicilian coins more ancient than those of the Greeks of Attica.

There are extant two medals of Homer, by Amastris; also one struck at Smyrna, and another

\* Exodus xxxv. 22. The tablets, here mentioned, it is presumed were medals, or other engraved articles, but not current coin.

† Exod. xxxii. 4.



at Chios. The Chian medal appears to be the most ancient. It represents the great poet as sitting, with a book in his hand; and the exergue has the representation of a centaur. The letters on it denote a very early period of the Grecian literature, and read from right to left. We have no types which would justly describe them. Over the figure of Homer is  $\text{ΟΜΗΡΩ}$ , and over the centaur  $\text{ΝΥΙΚ}$ , reversed. The other medals are well expressed; but the shape of the M differs from that used in later periods, and C occupies the place of X.

Money was generally stamped, by the ancients, with figures engraved in steel, or hardened copper; and where engraving was unknown, money could not be coined. This coined money is by Strabo called *pecunia signata*, to distinguish it from articles exchanged by weight. According to Pliny,\* Servius Tullius first stamped brass coins among the Romans.—*Servius rex ovium boumque effigie primus æs signavit*. These oxen, swine, &c. could not have been formed without the art of the engraver. The same author says, that silver was coined in Rome, A. U. C. 484; five years preceding the first Punic war. The *ases sextentario pondere feriebantur*, which the Romans coined when Hannibal was in Italy, were marked with a Janus on one side, and the beak, or stern, of a ship on the other. In the cabinets of antiquities, in Europe, are almost innumerable ancient coins, and medals, of the Roman emperors; as well as of eminent men, in various other nations. These are so many independent and

\* xxxviii. 8.

infallible testimonies of the existence of engraving in the times that are past, and many of them evidence that it was practised long before the Christian era. The earliest Roman coins were stamped with the *pecus*, whence came the term *pecunia*. Some of their brass coins were stamped with a boat; the silver denarii had the figures of waggons with two, or four horses; and on the reverse the head of Rome with a helmet. The *victoriati*, had the image of victory; the *sestertii*, had the images of victory, and of Castor and Pollux, with the city on the reverse. The heads of the Roman emperors were engraved on their coins, with their names and titles round them, in a similar manner to that in which coins are now executed. Nothing can be more evident, therefore, than that the art of engraving, in metal, was known among the Romans; for, without that art, they never could have made their stamps to fix the impressions on their coins.\*

Those who never had an opportunity to examine the accounts which are given of the more ancient Greek and Roman coins, may find evidence in st. Luke, sufficient to convince every Christian, of the truth, that Roman coins were well known when Christ was on earth. It is clearly asserted, that the Roman *denarius* bore the image and superscription of Cesar—*Whose image and superscription hath it?*†.

\* For the most valuable part of the above observations on ancient coins and engravings, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. William Sheldon. Those who are desirous to see more on these subjects, may consult Pinkerton on medals, &c.

† Luke xx. 24.

The making the letters round those images of the emperors; and stamping them on the metal, were processes that embraced the rudiments of printing; and render the opinion of Ihre, that Ulphilas's version of the scriptures was impressed with hot metal types, somewhat the less improbable.

From the researches of the English Asiatic Society, we have full and unequivocal evidence, that the art of engraving on copper and brass, was known in Hindostan, and other parts of Asia, in very remote periods of time. The Asiatic Researches contain some curious specimens; among which is an account of a royal grant of land, engraved on a copper plate, bearing date twenty three years before the Christian era, that is, eighteen hundred and thirty three years since. This plate was discovered among the ruins of Mongueer, in India. A copy of the grant was translated from the original sanscrit, by Charles Wilkins, esq. in the year 1781, and published by sir William Jones.\*

The rev. Claudius Buchanan, L. L. D. who was sent from England, as a missionary, to the East Indies, and who, since his return, has published a celebrated sermon, entitled, "The Star in the East;" in the appendix to that performance, has given an account of various engraved plates of mixed metals, which were found among the Christians of st. Thomas, at Malayala, Malabar; the largest of which contains an engraved page of thirteen by four inches; and the writing engraved on four of them

\* See Asiatic Researches, printed at Calcutta, 1788, in six volumes, quarto, with an engraving of the plate.

makes eleven pages. The plate reputed to be the oldest, contains characters resembling the Persic of Persepolis, or the Babylonish letters. "On the same plate there is writing in another character, which has no affinity with any existing character in Hindostan." The names of four ancient and eminent Jews, who were witnesses to the guarantee of the privileges which the engraving on the plates is said to convey, appear written in very old Hebrew characters. These Christian tablets of Malayala, are a great curiosity, and, no doubt, may justly claim a very high degree of antiquity. The Jews at Cochin have two brass tables, similar to those of the Malayalans; and the palm of priority is disputed by these people. The Jews have a Hebrew manuscript, stating that they received a grant, which was recorded on brass tablets, in A. D. 379. [c]

From the observations which have been made, I presume it is sufficiently evident, that the branch of designing, called engraving, may be considered as an invention, the author of which is lost amidst the darkness of remote antiquity; and that the knowledge of it has existed from time immemorial. When writers speak of the discoveries of Finiguerra, and his cotemporaries at Florence, therefore, they cannot with propriety allude to any thing further, than the method of taking impressions on paper, from engravings; which appears to have been nearly the extent of the improvements they introduced into the art. It must, however, be admitted, that although the art of engraving was well known to the ancients, and practised by them in a style nearly approaching to perfection; yet, during the dark

ages of Gothic barbarity and monkish superstition, which obscured the light and glory of Europe, much of the knowledge of the fine arts was lost ; and, perhaps, the clouds of ignorance and obscurity fell upon the business of the engraver ; so that, possibly, the Florentines had to explore the secrets of the art among the rubbish of antiquity ; and, in the course of their researches they accidentally displayed some new ideas, as was the case with Finiguerra.

The progress and discoveries of the modern European engravers, I will proceed to state under the head of

*Modern Engraving, on Wood, Copper, &c.*

A book published at Leipsic in 1771, without the name of the author, and under the title of “*Idée générale d’une Collection complète des Estampes ; avec une Dissertation sur l’Origine de la Gravure, et sur les premiers Livres d’Images,*” opposes, in some measure, the opinions of the best writers on the origin of Printing in Europe. The author’s attention was particularly directed to engraving, and to an examination of wooden cuts in books of the earliest dates, which led, of course, to an investigation of the printing of those books. This author traces the origin of cutting on wood, as far back as the year 1423, and he attributes it to artists employed in making cards ; which artists, he says, proceeded from little pictures of saints, to small pieces

of history ; intended for the instruction of youth, and for purposes of devotion. This, he thinks, gave the hint to Guttenburg, when he lived in Strasburg, of cutting single letters. Like several German writers, he is not willing to allow the claim of Holland to the discovery of Printing ; or to admit Laurentius, alias Coster, to be either a printer, engraver, or carver, and treats his pretensions to the discovery as fictitious. But Meerman's investigations have settled this business, by producing full and ample testimony in favor of Laurentius.

The anonymous writer, of Leipsic, states, that of all the modes of engraving for the press, the most ancient is, that on wood ; or, to speak more technically, the first impressions on paper were taken from carved wooden blocks. For this invention, he observes, we are indebted to the **breef-malers**, or makers of playing cards, who practised the art in Germany in the 15th century. From the same source may, perhaps, be traced the first idea of moveable types, which appeared not many years after ; for then brief malers did not entirely confine themselves to the printing and painting of cards ; but produced, also, subjects of a more devout nature ; many of which, taken from holy writ, are still preserved in the different libraries in Germany, with the explanatory texts, facing the figures, the whole engraved rudely in wood. In this manner they even formed a species of books, such as *Historia sancti Johannis ejusque visiones apocalypticæ ; Historia Veteris Novi Testamenti*, known by the name of "The Poor Man's Bible." These short mementos were printed only on one side, and two

of them, being pasted together, had the appearance of a single sheet or leaf. The anonymous writer then mentions, that the earliest date found on these wooden cuts is 1423. The subject is, *St. Christopher, carrying the infant Jesus over the sea*, which was preserved in a convent at Buxheim near Memmengen; and, that "it is of a folio size, illuminated in the same manner as the playing cards; and at the bottom is this inscription, *Christoferi, faciem die quacunque tueris. Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris. Millesimo CCCC°XX° tertio.*"\*

Mr. Bullet, in his researches into the history of Cards, printed at Lyons in 1757, supposes the invention of them to have taken place between the years 1367 and 1380: Other authors make the year 1367 to be the epocha of the discovery; but, do not allow that they were made from engraving, or carving, of any kind. They contend that the figures were painted upon thick paper; and continued to be made by that method till after printing was invented.

Upon the invention of moveable types, that branch of the brief malers business, which was connected with the making of that kind of books, mentioned by the Leipsic author, was gradually discontinued; but the art of engraving on wood, was still practised and improved. Toward the end of the 15th, or beginning of the 16th century, it be-

\* Later writers have contradicted the statement of the Leipsic author, so far as it respects the date, which, doubtless, is erroneous. The error arises from the omission by design, or accident of an L. The true date probably should stand thus: "Millessimo CCCC°LXX° tertio."

came customary for almost every one of the German engravers on copper, to engrave on wood also. Among the Germans, the engravings of Albert Dürer, on wood, are justly held in the highest estimation. Italy, France and Holland produced many capital artists in this line.

One Hugo de Carpi projected a scheme of cutting in wood, by means of which the prints appeared as if painted in *chiaro scuro*. In order to effect this, he made three kinds of stamps for the same design; which were drawn after one another through the press for the same print. They were so contrived as that one served for the grand lights, a second for the demi tints, and a third for the outlines and deep shade.

The art of engraving in wood, was carried to a high degree of perfection, in Europe, two hundred years ago; and, for beauty of design, might vie with that of engraving on copper. It afterward much degenerated; and, for a long period, was neglected. Some years since, it was revived, but in a different style, to that which was practised at an earlier period. The best cutting in wood is now made to imitate, when impressed, the prints from copperplates.

Blocks of wood are still used in Europe, for cuts to be printed at letter press; but in this country, particularly in Newengland, type metal is substituted for wood.

It is believed that Schoeffer was the first, in Europe, who engraved on copper for the press; but, he went no further than to engrave matrices for the faces of metal types, before he had discovered the



art of cutting steel punches to impress them. The modern art of taking impressions of pictures, &c. from engravings, is said to have taken its rise not much earlier than the middle of the 15th century. One Maso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, has the credit of the discovery of copperplate printing in the year 1440; he had poured some melted brimstone on an engraved plate; and, when the brimstone was cold, he found thereon the exact impression of the engraving, marked black with the matter taken out of the strokes, by the liquid sulphur.\* He then attempted to do the same with wet paper on silver plates, by passing a roller smoothly and forcibly over it, and succeeded. Prints, from engraved copperplates made their first appearance about 1450, in Germany. Stoltzhirs is said to be the first who both engraved and printed from copperplates.† He produced several pieces, or specimens, of this kind of work.

### *Printing Presses.*

A PARTICULAR description of the presses first used in printing, has not come under my observation; but early writers mention that they were constructed like common wine presses; and that Guttenburg, before he quitted Strasburg, had one made,

\* *Sculptura, Historico Technica*, p. 2.

† *Strutt's Hist. of Engraving*.

better adapted to the purpose for which it was intended, than that used by Laurentius, at Haerlem.

The ingenious artists, who first printed at Venice, it is probable, made improvements on those used by Fust and Geinsfleiche, at Mentz. Luckombe informs us, that the presses used in Europe, before the seventeenth century, were "a make shift, slovenly contrivance;" and others mention, that they were, in many respects, highly inconvenient.

William Jansen Blaew, was bred a joiner in Amsterdam. About the year 1620, he made several improvements in the presses used before, and at that time; and, these improvements were soon generally adopted by the printers in Holland, and afterward by those in England, &c. Blaew, after having served out his apprenticeship, travelled to Denmark, and there was employed by Tycho Brahe, the celebrated mathematician and astronomer, in making mathematical instruments, by which means Blaew appears to have become a favorite with Tycho, who instructed him in mathematics, and gave him copies of his celestial observations before they appeared in public. With these, Blaew returned to Amsterdam, and there practised making globes agreeably to Tycho's astronomical tables. He traded also in maps and geographical books; his business increased; and, he commenced printing. Discovering many inconveniences in the structure of the old presses, he contrived to remove them, and made a new one, which he found to answer his purpose; he, therefore, caused eight more, for himself and others, to be constructed in the same manner, and called each one, by the name of one of the muses.

Presses on Blaeuw's model, with few alterations in their construction, some of which were made by the ingenious Baskerville, printer and type founder of Birmingham, England, have continued in common use in Europe and America, till within a few years past.

An improvement was made in the presses in the late French king's printing house at Paris, by M. Anisson, who wrote a treatise on the construction of those machines, and gave a description of a new press made for the service of his most Christian Majesty. This treatise, a late English writer observes,\* must have afforded many useful hints to his countryman, earl Stanhope, in the formation of his iron press for stereotype printing; which press, this writer says, "is constructed on the true principles of mechanism, with much simplicity and harmony of parts." The common press was found inadequate to the pressure required for the heavy forms of stereotype. After many expensive and laborious experiments, his lordship, with the aid of a very skilful mechanic, succeeded in the completion of a press, which fully answered all the purposes of stereotyping. The superiority of this press, which bears the name of its projector, over those in common use, is, that it affords a great accession of power to the pressure of heavy forms of small letter, and with much less labor than is required at other presses. Stowers asserts, that "the Stanhope press is capable of ten times the force of the common

\* C. Stowers; from whose work I have extracted the greater part of what follows relating to the Stanhope stereotype press.

press, with perhaps, a tenth part of the labor ;" and, that the pressure is so equal, that " nothing is left to the judgment of the pressmen but the beating ;" or supplying the types with ink.

That part of the machinery of this press, which produces the power, has been applied to the common press ; but not with the success that was expected. The wooden parts of the common press, were found too weak to bear the pressure produced by the machinery of the Stanhope press ; the accelerated power is produced, principally, " by the arrangement of its bar and spindle." A press, however, has been constructed, embracing, in a considerable degree, the advantages of the Stanhope press, and is used in many printing houses in London.

In the course of the last fifty years, several attempts have been made to improve the machinery of printing presses. In one of these innovations, the power of the press was communicated by a cylinder turned by a crank ; in another, by a lever, without a screw ; and, in a third, by a wheel and weight. As these presses were not so convenient as those in common use, they were, most of them, soon set aside. I shall, hereafter, give an account of a cylindrical press, which was constructed by Nichols, in London, and might, I conceive, be used to advantage, at least in large editions of ordinary work. It is calculated to produce some saving in both labor and time.

## SPANISH AMERICA.

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THE art of Printing was first introduced into Spanish America, as nearly as can be ascertained, at the close of the sixteenth century. The historians, whose works I have consulted, are all silent, as to the time when it was first practised on the American continent ; but, the knowledge we have of the Spanish territories, especially of Mexico and Peru, is so circumscribed, that we cannot fix on any precise date as the period of its commencement ; but, it is certain, that Printing was executed both in Mexico and Peru, before it made its appearance in the British North American colonies. I do not mean to assert, however, that it is impossible to ascertain the place where, and the date when, the first printing was performed in the extensive provinces belonging to Spain ; but, as respects myself, I have found that an insurmountable difficulty has attended the inquiry.

I have ascertained that there was a press established in the capital of Mexico, as early as 1604.

Chevillier, who, I believe, wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century, refers his readers to some books printed early at Lima, the capital of Peru.\*

Luckombe writes,† that “ Printing was extended to Africa and America, not indeed at the invitation of the natives, especially of America, but by means of the Europeans ; and, particularly, of the Spanish missionaries, who carried it to the latter for their ends ; accordingly, we find that several printing houses were erected very early in the city of Lima, and in several cities of the kingdom of Mexico.”

The religion of the Spaniards has suffered very little, if any innovation ; and many of the books they have printed in America, are on religious subjects. Copies of these, together with those of various histories of the old world, and of the discovery and settlement of America, which have, from time to time, issued from the Mexican and Peruvian presses, are, it is said, preserved in the colleges of the capital cities in those provinces, together with many heavy folio volumes in manuscript, respecting that country, and written there. In this age of revolutions, those, and the other provinces of Spain, may experience some convulsions of the revolutionary tornado, by which their parent state is desolated, in common with the other European kingdoms. The time may not be far distant when

\* Chevillier, a French writer, was library keeper at the Sorbonne.

† History and art of Printing. P. 41.

a spirit of freedom and a consciousness of their own strength, may lead the people of the south to follow the example of their northern neighbors, and establish their independence ; when that time shall arrive, strangers, may be permitted to explore their country without difficulty or restraint.

## MEXICO AND PERU.

THE books published both in English and Spanish America, till within the last fifty years, were, principally, on religious subjects. Perhaps those produced in the British colonies, anterior to the revolution, exceed, in number, those published in Mexico and Peru ; but, from the best information I have been enabled to obtain, it appears they were inferior, in point of magnitude, to the many large and voluminous labors of the monks, on subjects of devotion and scholastic theology, that have been printed in the Spanish part of the continent. Beside books on religious and devotional concerns, many large historical works, a variety of dictionaries, grammars, &c. have been produced by the presses of Spanish America.

Notwithstanding the press in Spanish America is under severe restrictions, yet the books allowed to be printed, together with the works necessary for the purposes of government, have afforded it much employment ; and, from the best information

I can procure, it appears that the typographical performances, both in Mexico and Peru, have not been badly executed.

Gazettes have, for many years, been published in that country ; some say they were printed before the end of the seventeenth century ; that they were so, in the cities of Mexico and Lima, is not improbable. Dr. Robertson, in his history of America, mentions his being furnished with the "Gazeta de Mexico" for the years 1728, 1729, and 1730, printed in quarto. Having examined the contents, he observes,\* "The Gazette of Mexico is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, autos de fè, &c. Civil, or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner of this monthly magazine of intelligence." He mentions, also, that the titles of new books were regularly inserted in the Gazette ; whence it appeared that two thirds of them were treatises on religion.

As the press is under the absolute control of government, we might expect to find the catalogue of Spanish American publications confined within narrow limits ; but, the fact is, that the works which treat of religion, history, morals, and classical books, which, in that country, are permitted to be printed, are numerous. Even the dictionaries and grammars, for the use of the various nations of aborigines in the Mexican provinces only, excite

\* Robertson's Amer. vol. 3. p. 401. Ed. 7. Lond.



our surprise. Of these the Abbé Clavigero,† the historian, mentions five Mexican dictionaries, and twenty Mexican grammars. Three Otomee dictionaries, and four grammars. Two Tarascan dictionaries, and three grammars. One Zapotecan dictionary, and one grammar. One Mixtecan grammar. Three Maya dictionaries, and three grammars. Two Totonacan dictionaries, and two grammars. One Popolucan dictionary, and one grammar. One Matlazincan dictionary, and one grammar. Two Huastecan dictionaries, and two grammars. One Mixe dictionary, and one grammar. One Cakchiquel dictionary, and one grammar. One Tauraumaran dictionary, and two grammars. One Tepahuan dictionary, and three grammars.

Clavigero also mentions eighty six authors held in high estimation by the learned ; thirty three of whom were Creoles, “ who have written on the doctrines of Christianity, and on Morality, in the languages of New Spain.” Their works, and the dictionaries and grammars before mentioned, were, unquestionably, printed in the provinces of Mexico ; and, it is not improbable, that many books, of the like kind, have been published in the extensive provinces of Peru, in South America.

Dr. Robertson prefixed to the seventh edition of his history, a list of Spanish books and manuscripts, which he consulted for that work. I have extracted from his list, the titles of those which were

† A learned native of New Spain, who published the history of ancient Mexico, and the conquest of it, by the Spaniards, in two large volumes, quarto.

printed in Mexico and Lima, and have added to them, some others printed in those cities ; they all relate solely to the history and conquest of the country. Among those of which I have thus collected the titles, the reader will see that the earliest printed book is from a Mexican press in 1606. I have heard of a work, but cannot procure its title, printed in the capital of New Spain in 1604 ;—there can be but little doubt that Printing was introduced there some years before that period.

### *Mexican Editions.*

MARTINEZ [Arigo] History of New Spain. Folio. Printed at Mexico, 1606. In this work, according to Clavigero, are astronomical and physical observations, which are of importance to the geography and natural history of that country.

Cisneros, [Diego] Sitio Naturaleza y Propriedades de la Ciudad de Mexico. Quarto. Printed at Mexico, 1618.

Villalobos [Arrias] History of Mexico. Written in verse. Folio. Mexico, 1623.

Castillejo, [Chaves Christ.] History of the Origin of the Indians, and their first Colonies in the Country of Anahuac. Mexico, 1632.

Gongora [Carlos de Siguenza e, a celebrated Mexican, professor of mathematics in the university of his native country] author of several mathematical, critical, historical and poetical works ; amongst them were,

The Mexican Cyclography, a work of great labor, in which, by calculating eclipses and comets, marked in the ancient historical pictures of the Mexicans, he adjusted their epochs with those of Europe; and, he explained the methods by which they used to enumerate centuries, years and months. Folio. And,

The History of the Chechemecan Empire, in which Gongora explains what he found in ancient Mexican manuscripts and paintings, concerning the first colonies which passed from Asia to America; and the occurrences of the most ancient nations established in Anahuac. Folio.

All the preceding works of Gongora were printed at Mexico, from 1680 to 1693.

Betancourt [Augustino de, a Franciscan of Mexico] Mexican Theatre, or the Ancient and Modern History of the Mexican Empire. Folio. Mexico, 1698.

Arguello [Eman.] Centum Confessionis, 12mo. Mexico, 1703.

Aranzeles Reales de los Ministros de la Real Audiencia de N. Espagna. Folio. Mexico, 1727.

Beltran [P. F. Pedro] Arte de el Idioma Maya reducido a sucintas reglas, y Semilexicon. Quarto. Mexico, 1746.

Villa Segnor y Sanchez [D. Jos. Ant.] Theatro Americano. Descripcion general de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva Espagna. 2 vols. Folio. Mexico, 1746.

Huemez y Horcasitas [D. Juan Francisco de] Extracto de los Autos de Diligencias y reconocimientos de los rios, lagunas, vertientes, y desaguas

de Mexico y su valle, &c. Folio, Mexico, 1748.

Concilios Provinciales Primero y Segundo celebrados en la muy Noble y muy leal Ciudad de Mexico en los Años de 1555 and 1565. Folio, Mexico, 1769.

Consilium Mexicanum Provinciale tertium celebratum Mexici, Anno 1585. Folio, Mexico, 1770.

Lorenzana [D. Fr. Ant.] Arzobispo de Mexico, ahora, de Toledo, Historia de Nueva España, escrita por su Esclarecido Conquistador Hernan Cortes, Aumentada con otros Documentos y Notas. Folio. Mexico, 1770.

Eguara El Eguren [D. Jo. Jos.] Bibliotheca Mexicana, sive Eruditorum Historia Virorum in Americ. Boreali natorum, &c. Two volumes. Folio. Mexico, 1775.

### *Peruvian Editions.*

ARRIAGO [P. Pablo Jos. de] Extirpacion de la Idolatria de Peru. Quarto. Printed at Lima, 1621.

Bellesteros [D. Thomas de] Ordenanzas del Peru. Folio. Two volumes. Lima, 1685.

Peralta Barnuevo [D. Pedro de] Lima fundada o Conquista del Peru Poëma Eroyco. Quarto. Lima, 1732.

Lima, Gozosa's, Descripcion de las festibas Demonstraciones, Conquista ciudad Celebrò la real Proclamacion de el Nombre Augusto del Catolico Monarcho D. Carlos III. Quarto. Lima, 1760.

Aparicio y Leon [D. Lorenzo de] Discurso Historico-Politico del Hospital San Lazaro de Lima. Octavo. Lima, 1760.

Jesuitas, Colleccion de las aplicaciones que se van haciendo de los Cienes, casas y Coligios que fueron de la Compagnia de Jesus, expatriados de estos Reales dominios. Quarto. Two volumes. Lima, 1772 and 1773.

The foregoing books relate solely to the conquest and settlement of the country; copies of which were not without much difficulty procured, by dr. Robertson, who found it necessary to use the interest of his friends at the Spanish court. When we consider that so large a number of valuable works, on one subject, were published in the cities of Mexico and Lima only, we are led to suppose that the whole number, which has been printed on various other subjects, through the extent of Spanish America, must be very great; and this consideration strengthens the opinion before expressed, that, although the works published in that country, from the time it was first settled, till the year 1775, might not equal, in number, those produced by the Anglo American presses, yet, any deficiency of this nature has been fully supplied by the superior magnitude of the Spanish performances.

It evidently appears, that the most voluminous and expensive works were published by the Spaniards; and this is not altogether strange, as they possessed by far the richest part of the country; and the settlement of the southern part of the continent, and of Mexico, commenced a century before that of the British colonies,

## SAINT DOMINGO.

A PRINTING press was early introduced into the Spanish part of this island ; probably about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was seldom used, except for printing the lists and returns, and other papers for the different branches of the administration.

M. de St. Mery,\* in his "Description of the Spanish part of St. Domingo," informs us, that "No works concerning the colonies can be printed in them, without the permission of the council of the Indies, and it is well known that the council is not over fond of granting such permissions. In the examination of the vessels that arrive, strict search is made after the books proscribed by the inquisition ; and, as the convent of St. Lawrence the Royal, has, in Spain, the exclusive privilege of printing religious books, the senior auditor is exclusively charged with the causes that this privilege may give rise to in the island. If a work be printed at St. Domingo, twenty copies of it must be delivered to the president, to be sent by him to the council of the Indies, there to be buried, like every thing else that is sent thither."

\* M. de St. Mery, lived at Cape Francois, previous to the destruction of it by the blacks. In 1798, he was a bookseller in Philadelphia, and a member of the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania.

In 1790, the printing house, in the city of St. Domingo, stood in the vicinity of the palace of the president, or governor general, and not far from the ancient cathedral; which, with the prisons, and many ancient private houses, form a square, which is used for a market place. The cathedral was begun in 1512, and finished in 1540; and, in it were interred the remains of the celebrated Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this continent, which ought to have borne his name. The cathedral, also, contains the remains of his brother Bartholomew, or of Diego, the son of Columbus. The coffins which contained their bodies were discovered in 1783, when, in repairing the cathedral, part of a thick wall was taken down. This fact St. Mery mentions on good authority; which is corroborated by the certificates of don Joseph Nunez, dean, dignitary of the holy metropolitan and primatial church of the Indies, don Manuel Sanchez, canon, dignitary, &c. and don Pedro de Galvez, preceptor, canon, dignitary of the cathedral church, and primate of the Indies. These certificates are dated at Santo Domingo, April 26, 1783. [f]

There was a printing house at Cape François, on the French part of the island, as I am informed, long before that town was destroyed by the negroes when they revolted.

## CUBA.

THIS island was discovered by Columbus in 1492. He gave it the name of Ferdinando, but it soon after recovered its ancient name of Cuba.

A press, it is said, was established in this island many years ago ; but it was intended merely for the use of the government.



## PORTUGUESE AMERICA.

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PRINTING has been long practised in the Portuguese settlements ; but, I believe, the press has been kept almost solely for the use of the government. If any literary productions were ever issued from it, I am unacquainted with them.

As there is an intercourse between the United States and Brazil, we may hope to obtain, at no distant period, the history of printing in this part of South America.

Brazil is an extensive, opulent, and rich country, divided, according to geographers, into about twenty provinces, which contain diamond, gold and silver mines. The number of inhabitants is estimated at 2,500,000, whereof one half are the descendants of the original possessors of the country ; about 700,000 are slaves imported from Africa, 10,000 of whom are employed in the diamond mines ; and, the remainder are native and European Portuguese. St. Salvador, and St. Sebastian, or Rio Janeiro, are the principal cities ; the latter, sir George Staunton informs us, contains 43,000 inhabitants—40,000

of these are slaves and people of color—the royal court of Brazil is held at this place,\* now become the residence of the king and royal family, who lately fled from Portugal on the invasion of that country by the emperor of the French. Thus one king of a civilized people, has been introduced on this continent. How soon one, or more, may be placed at the head of the government, or governments, of the Spanish provinces in South and in North America, is as yet unknown; but the time does not appear to be far remote, when such an event may take place.

\* In 1792, according to sir George Staunton's account, there were but two booksellers in Rio Janeiro, and they sold books on the subjects of divinity and medicine only.

# ENGLISH AMERICA.

NOW THE

## UNITED STATES.



### *Introduction of the Art.*

THE early part of the history of the United States, is not, like that of most other nations, blended with fable. Many of the first European settlers of this country were men of letters; they made records of events as they passed, and they, from the first, adopted effectual methods to transmit the knowledge of them to their posterity. The rise and progress of English America, therefore, from its colonization to the period at which it took a name and place among sovereign and independent nations, may be traced with the clearness and certainty of authentic history.

That art, which is the preserver of all arts, is worthy of the attention of the learned and the curious. An account of the first printing executed in the English colonies of America, combines many

of the important transactions of the settlement, as well as many incidents interesting in the revolutions of nations ; and, exhibits the pious and charitable efforts of our ancestors, in Newengland; to translate the sacred Books into a language, which at this short distance of time is, probably, not understood by an individual of the human race, and for the use of a nation\* which is now extinct. Such is the fluctuation of human affairs !

The particulars respecting the Printing and Printers of this country, it is presumed, will gratify professional men ; and, a general history of this nature will certainly preserve many important facts which, in a few years, would be irrecoverably lost.

Among the first settlers of Newengland were many pious as well as learned men. They emigrated from a country where the press had more license than in other parts of Europe, and they were acquainted with the usefulness of it. As soon as they had made those provisions that were necessary for their existence in this land, which was then a rude wilderness, their next objects were, the establishment of schools, and a printing press ; the latter of which was not tolerated, till many years afterward, by the elder colony of Virginia.

The founders of the colony of Massachusetts† consisted of but a small number of persons, who

\* The aborigines of the country.

† The reader will perceive that I am here speaking of Massachusetts proper, not of the colony of Plymouth, where a settlement was made in the year 1620. That colony has, however, long since been incorporated into that of Massachusetts.

arrived at Salem in 1628. A few more joined them in 1629; and governor Winthrop, with the addition of fifteen hundred settlers, arrived in 1630. These last landed at the place since called Charlestown, opposite to Boston, where they pitched their tents, and built a few huts for shelter. In 1631, they began to settle Cambridge, four miles from the place where they landed. They also began a settlement on the identical spot where Boston now stands. In 1638, they built an academy at Cambridge, which in process of time was increased to a college; and, the same year, they opened a printing house in that place. In January, 1639, Printing was first performed in that part of North America, which extends from the gulph of Mexico to the frozen ocean.

For this press our country is chiefly indebted to the rev. mr. Glover, a nonconformist minister, who possessed a considerable estate, and had left his native country with a determination to settle among his friends, who had emigrated to Massachusetts; because in this wilderness, he could freely enjoy, with them, those opinions which were not countenanced by the government and a majority of the people in England.

Very little more than the name of this Father of the American Press is known among us. So far as my researches have extended, I can only find that his name has been barely mentioned by two respectable journalists,\* who were among the first settlers that emigrated here. This was, probably,

\* Governor Winthrop, and captain Johnson.

owing to his having died on his passage to Massachusetts. By searching the ancient records of the college, &c. at Cambridge, Massachusetts, I have been enabled to collect the few particulars respecting him which I shall mention in course.

Another press, with types, and another printer, were, in 1660, sent over from England by the corporation for propagating the gospel, among the Indians, in Newengland. This press, &c. was designed solely for the purpose of printing the Bible, and other books, in the Indian language. On their arrival they were carried to Cambridge, and employed in the printing house already established in that place.

Notwithstanding Printing continued to be performed in Cambridge, from a variety of causes it happened, that many original works were sent from Newengland, Massachusetts in particular, to London, to be printed. Among these causes the principal were—first, the press at Cambridge had, generally, full employment; secondly, the Printing done there was executed in an inferior style; and, thirdly, many works on controverted points of religion, were not allowed to be printed in this country. Hence it happened that for more than eighty years after Printing was first practised in the colony, manuscripts were occasionally sent to England for publication.

The fathers of Massachusetts kept a watchful eye on the press; and, in neither a religious or civil point of view, were they disposed to give it much liberty. Both the civil and ecclesiastical rulers were fearful that if it was not under wholesome restraints,

contentions and heresies would arise among the people. In 1662, the government of Massachusetts appointed licensers of the press;\* and afterward, in 1664, passed a law that "no printing should be allowed in any town within the jurisdiction, except in Cambridge"—nor should any thing be printed there but what the government permitted through the agency of those persons who were empowered for the purpose. Offenders against this regulation were to forfeit their presses to the country, and to be disfranchised of the privilege of printing thereafter.† In a short time, this law was so far repealed, as to permit the use of a press at Boston, and a person was authorized to conduct it; subject, however, to the licensers who were appointed for the purpose of inspecting it.

It does not appear that the press, in Massachusetts, was free from legal restraints till about the year 1755. Holyoke's Almanack, for 1715, has, in the title page, "Imprimatur, J. Dudley." A pamphlet, printed in Boston, on the subject of building market houses in that town, has the addition of, "Imprimatur, Samuel Shute, Boston, Feb. 19, 1719."<sup>‡</sup> James Franklin, in 1723, was ordered

\* Gen. Daniel Gookin, and the rev. mr. Mitchel, of Cambridge, were the first appointed licensers of the press in this country.

† See this stated more at length in the account given of Samuel Green, printer at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

‡ There was no market house in Boston till 1734. On the 20th of April, in that year, the town, after many years contest-

by the government, not to publish "The New-England Courant," without previously submitting its contents to the secretary of the province; and, Daniel Fowle\* was imprisoned by the house of representatives, in 1754, barely on *suspicion* of his having printed a pamphlet, said to contain reflections on some members of the general court.

For several years preceding the year 1730, the government of Massachusetts had been less rigid than formerly; and, after that period, I do not find that any officer is mentioned as having a particular control over the press. For a long time, however, the press appeared to be under greater restrictions here than in England; that is, till toward the close of the seventeenth century.

In the course of this work it will appear, that the presses established in other colonies were not entirely free from restraint.

In Virginia the first press was not introduced till about the year 1727. The rulers in that colony, in the seventeenth century, judged it best not to permit public schools, nor to allow the use of the

ing the question, voted to build three houses of wood; one at the south part of the town, near the Great Elms; another on the Old North square; the other, in a more central situation, near the Town Dock, where Faneuil Hall now stands. The three frames were erected the month following; and the sales, at the Town Dock market, commenced the 25th of the same month. In the course of two or three years, two of the market houses were sold by order of the town, for other uses; and the third was destroyed by "the people."

\* See Franklin, and Fowle,



press.\* And thus, by keeping the people in ignorance, they thought to render them more obedient to the laws; prevent them from libelling the government, and to impede the growth of heresy, &c.

## REMARKS.

THE press had become free some years previous to the commencement of the revolution; but it continued for a long time duly to discriminate between liberty and licentiousness. This freedom of the press was the first, and one of the greatest agents in producing our national independence. The press appears to be now under no particular restraints, and no one can wish the liberty of it to be greater.

Except in Massachusetts, no presses were set up in the colonies till near the close of the seventeenth century. Printing then was performed in Pennsylvania, "near Philadelphia," and afterward in that city, by the same press, which, in a few years subsequent, was removed to Newyork. In 1709, a press was established at Newlondon, in Connecticut; and, from this period, it was gradually introduced into the other colonies; as well as into several of the Westindia islands, belonging to Great Britain.

Till the year 1760, it appears that more books were printed in Massachusetts, annually, than in any of the other colonies; and, before 1740, more print-

\* Chalmer's Annal. Vol 1. p. 32, and 345.

ing was done there than in all the other colonies. After 1760, the quantum of printing done in Boston and Philadelphia was nearly equal, till the commencement of the war. Newyork produced some octavo and duodecimo volumes.—The presses of Connecticut were not idle; they furnished many pamphlets on various subjects, and some small volumes. Some books were handsomely printed in Virginia and Maryland; and folio volumes of laws, and a few octavos and duodecimos, on religion, history and politics, issued from the presses of Carolina, Rhodeisland, Newhampshire, &c.

Before 1775, printing was confined to the capitals of the colonies; but the war occasioned the dispersion of presses, and many were set up in towns that were remote. After the establishment of our independence, by the peace of 1783, presses multiplied very fast, not only in seaports, but in all the principal inland towns and villages; and, it may now be said, that in the United States there are more presses employed than in any other part of the globe, containing the same number of inhabitants. The major part of these presses is used in printing newspapers; but newspapers form not the only branch of printing which has increased. Bibles of all the various sizes, Dictionaries in English and Latin, Greek Lexicons—most of the Greek and Latin classics, which are used in the country, numerous original works, as well as the republication of various European books of history, divinity, law, physic, philosophy, &c. in volumes of various magnitudes, now find their way through the presses of the United States.

*Papermaking.*

IN the beginning of this work, when treating of paper, I took notice of the various descriptions of it, made by the Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, and the Europeans. I will now give a brief account of the paper made by the natives of America, before this country was known to the nations of the old world.

The ancient Mexicans made great use of paper. They manufactured it from the leaves of a genus of the aloe, or the palm *icxotl*, and from the thin bark of other trees, by a process not now known. They formed it into sheets of various dimensions and thicknesses, so as to answer sundry purposes; some of the sheets were similar, in thickness, to the thin pasteboard, and press paper for clothiers, manufactured in Europe; and some were thinner, but softer, smoother, and easy to write on. The sheets were generally made very long, and were polished suitably for the use to which they were intended to be applied. For preservation they were made up into rolls, or folded in the manner of bed skreens, and thus formed into books. Clavigero, who saw and handled several sheets which are now preserved in Mexico, informs us, that on this kind of paper the ancient Mexicans painted, in beautiful and permanent colors, the representations of their gods, their kings, their heroes, their animals, their plants, and whatever objects their fancy dictated, or circum-

stances might require. On paper they delineated, in hieroglyphics, painted with colors which were appropriated to the subject—"the symbols of their religion, accounts of remarkable events, their laws, their rites, their customs, their taxes or tributes.—Some of these paintings on paper were chronological, astronomical, or astrological, in which were represented their calendar, the position of the stars, eclipses, changes of the moon, prognostications of the variations of the weather—this kind of painting was called, by them, *tonalamatl*.—Other paintings were topographical, or chorographical, which served not only to shew the extent and boundaries of possessions, but, likewise, the situation of places; the direction of the coasts, and course of the rivers.\* The Mexican empire abounded with all these kinds of paintings on paper, for their painters were innumerable, and there was hardly any thing left unpainted. If these had been preserved, there would have been nothing wanting to explain the history of Mexico; but, after the conquest of the country by the Spaniards, the first preachers of the gospel, suspicious that superstition was mixed with all these paintings, made a furious destruction of them."†

\* Cortes says, in his first letter to Charles V, of Spain, that having made inquiry if there was any safe harbor for vessels in the Mexican gulf, Montezuma, the Mexican king, presented him with a painting of the whole coast, from the port of Chalchiuhcuecan, where at present Vera Cruz lies, to the river Coatzacualco. This account is confirmed by Bernal Diaz.

† Clavigero's Hist. Mex.

Paper similar to that of Mexico, it is said, was made in Peru.

Whether the European method of making paper has ever been introduced into Spanish America, I am not competent to say ; but, in some of the English colonies, making paper from rags of cotton and of linen, has long been practised.

Papermills were erected in Pennsylvania many years before the revolution. There were several in Newengland, and two or three in Newyork.

About the year 1730, an enterprising bookseller in Boston,\* having petitioned for, and received some aid from the legislature of Massachusetts, erected a paper mill, which was the first set up in that colony. Since 1775, paper mills have increased rapidly, and paper is now, I believe, manufactured in all parts of the union.†

### *Type Foundries.*

A **FOUNDRY**, principally for Gothic, or German types, was established at Germantown, Pennsylvania, several years before the revolution ; but that foundry was chiefly employed for its owner, Christopher Sower, who printed the Bible, and several other valuable works, in the German language.

\* Daniel Henschman. He produced, in 1731, to the general court, a sample of paper made at his mill.

† The paper on which this work is printed, was manufactured in Worcester, at a mill built some years since ; which has been for some time past owned by Elijah Burbank.

Some attempts were made about 1768, to establish foundries for types—one at Boston by mr. Mitchelson, from Scotland ; another in Connecticut by a mr. Buel ; but they were unsuccessful. In 1775, dr. Franklin brought from Europe to Philadelphia, the materials for a foundry ; but little use was made of them.

Soon after the close of the revolutionary war, John Baine, type founder, of Edinburgh, sent the materials for a foundry to this country, by a kinsman, I believe his grandson, who settled at Philadelphia. Baine came over himself, soon after ; and they were the first who regularly carried on the business of type founders in the United States. They were good workmen, and had full employment. The types for the Encyclopedia, twenty one volumes quarto, printed some years since by Dobson, at Philadelphia, were cast at their foundry. Baine died in August, 1790, aged 77. He must have been 70 years of age when he arrived at Philadelphia. His kinsman returned to Scotland.

At the commencement of the late commotions in Holland, an ingenious type founder, from that country, came and settled at Newyork. His foundry was calculated, principally, for Dutch and German types, the casts of which were handsome. The faces of his English letter were very ordinary. He was a Dutch patriot, who had lost most of his property, and was obliged to fly from his country. His want of funds disabled him from carrying on the business here with success.

At this time we have three or more type foundries in the United States. The types from which this work is printed, were manufactured by Binney and Ronaldson, at Philadelphia.

### *Stereotype Printing.*

ABOUT the year 1775, an attempt at stereotype printing was made by Benjamin Mecom, printer, nephew of doctor Franklin. He cast the plates for a number of pages of the New Testament; but never completed them. I shall have occasion to mention Mecom, in the course of this work, several times. He was skilful, but not successful.

The ingenious Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, has lately invented a new kind of stereotype, for impressing copper and other plates. From plates so impressed, most of the bank bills of Massachusetts and Newhampshire, are printed at rolling presses, and are called stereotype bills.

### *Engraving.*

I HAVE already observed, that man, in his primeval state, discovered a propensity to represent, by figures, on various substances, the animated work of his Creator.

From sketching, painting, or engraving these images, or representations on the surface of those substances, he proceeded to the business of the

sculptor or statuary, and produced all the features and proportions of men, and the other various descriptions of the animal creation, in wood and stone.

The invention of hieroglyphics has been generally attributed to the priests of ancient Egypt, who made use of them, to convey the knowledge they possessed of the mysteries of nature, and the secrets of their morality and history, to their successors in the priesthood, without discovering them to the vulgar; but dr. Warburton, who appears to have been well acquainted with the subject of hieroglyphic engravings, although his knowledge of coins and medals was questioned by Pinkerton, has, with great ingenuity, shewn, that hieroglyphics were not the invention of Egyptian priests.\*—He remarks, that “the general concurrence of different nations in this method of recording their thoughts, can never be supposed to be the effect of imitation, sinister views, or chance; but must be considered as the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the rude conceptions of mankind; for, not only the Chinese of the east, the Americans of the west, the Egyptians of the south, but the Scythians, likewise, of the north, and the intermediate inhabitants of the earth, viz. the Phenicians, the Ethiopians, the natives of India, &c. used the same methods of hieroglyphic and picture.”

At this day the American continent is not destitute of vestiges of ancient engraving. Long before the discovery of America by Columbus, we are told that the Mexicans made coined money of tin and

\* See Warburton's works.



copper, which was stamped by the authority of their sovereigns and feudal lords.\* They were acquainted with the arts of sculpture and engraving; and, François Corréal says, that the ornaments of the doors of the temple of the sun, in Peru, were formed of jasper and granite, and were sculptured in birds, quadrupeds, and animals of imaginary being, such as the sphinx, &c. and in the most exquisite manner. Don Ulloa gives an account of vases dug up in South America, which have figures designed upon them, completely in the Etruscan taste; formed of earth, or composition, which, like the old Etruscan, is now no where to be found. They were red, black, and extremely light, and sometimes had the figures in relief. What is very remarkable is, that, like the Etruscan vases, they have been discovered in no other places than sepulchres.

The Mexicans had learned to express in their statues, “all the attitudes and postures of which the human body is capable; they observed the proportions exactly, and could, when necessary, execute the most delicate and minute strokes,” with their chisels of flint, or of hardened copper.† They excelled in the art of founding and casting, with the precious metals, the most perfect images of natural bodies. They were expert lapidaries, and knew how to form gems into such shapes and figures as fancy dictated; and to finish them with an exquisite polish. Among their precious stones were the emerald, amethyst, cornelian, turquoise, and others which were unknown in Europe. They set

\* Clavigero's Hist. Mex.

† Ibid.

these stones in gold, and in silver, wrought in a very skilful manner, and rendered of great value. Condamine and Clavigero were both astonished at the industry and patience with which they must have worked in marble. They were workmen in linen and cloth of various descriptions, as well as painters and engravers. The specimens of their art, which were carried to Europe by Cortes, and others who visited the country, were found to be nearly inimitable, by the most expert artists of the old world. Their copper instruments and weapons they hardened to a temper which was equal to that of steel ; an art which the Greeks and Romans possessed to the time of the taking of Constantinople, by Mahomet II, when, with the knowledge of the Greek fire, it sunk into oblivion.

The United States have produced several vestiges of engraving, by the rude hands of the aborigines. I have a prospect of obtaining particular accounts of some of them ; which, should I be so fortunate as to procure, I will take notice of them in an appendix.

Thus we find that there is hardly any inhabited part of the world, which did not, before it became civilized, produce some specimens of engraving.

The modern European art of engraving, was not greatly encouraged in America before the revolution, and the artists did not appear to possess first rate abilities. They were unskilful ; but the increase of printing having made business for the engraver, and created a necessity for artists in that line, it has now arrived at nearly as great perfection in the United States, as in Europe. Engraving on

type metal, and occasionally on brass, in relief, for letter press printing, has been practised for many years in the United States; and, is often as well executed as are wooden cuts, for the like purpose, on the other side of the Atlantic.

### *Printing Presses.*

THE printing presses made use of in the English colonies, before the revolution, were, generally, imported from England, but some were manufactured in the country.

Since 1775, good presses have been made in many of the capital towns in the United States, particularly in Philadelphia, and in Hartford, Connecticut. Some of these presses underwent several partial alterations in their machinery, but no essential change in the construction was made from the common English printing press. A few have been contrived to perform the operation of printing in a different manner from that press, but these were not found to be useful.

Some years since doctor Kinsley, of Connecticut who possessed great mechanical ingenuity, produced, among other inventions, a model of a cylindrical letter press. It was a subject of much conversation among printers, but was never brought into use. The invention, however, did not originate with Kinsley. Cylindrical letter presses were invented in 1789, by William Nicholson, of London, who obtained a patent for them in 1790.

Kinsley's\* model was from Nicholson's plan, with some variation. Nicholson placed his forms of types horizontally; Kinsley placed his perpendicularly; his method was not calculated for neat printing. Nicholson's presses were used, and, it is said, made excellent work. These presses require but one person to work them, who is able to perform as much or more work in a day than two at common presses. The workman applies a sheet of paper to the form, turns the cylinder by a handle, the impression is made; and, he has nothing more to do than to take off the printed sheet, and put on another white one, thus continuing to print. The form is blacked by the revolution of rollers, properly prepared for the purpose.

For a description of these presses, see appendix and the plate, both of which are copied from the supplement of the *Encyclopedia*, vol. 3.

### *Rolling Presses.*

THE rolling press, as it is called, by copperplate printers, was not used in England, till the reign of king James I. It was carried from Antwerp to England, by one Speed. I cannot determine when it was first brought into English America, but I believe about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

\* Dr. Kinsley was a native of Massachusetts, but settled in Connecticut. He invented a machine for making pins, and another for preparing clay and moulding bricks, &c.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

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SO far as relates to the introduction of the art of Printing, and establishing the press in this section of the continent, Massachusetts claims precedence over all the other colonies. The press was erected here in the autumn of 1638; and, it was more than forty years before printing commenced in any other part of what, before the revolution, was called British America.

Hitherto justice has not been done to the man, by whose agency the art was first introduced into the English colonies. Although he was one of the best, and firmest friends to Newengland, his name has not been handed down to us with so much publicity as were those of other distinguished characters, who were his contemporaries, and fellow laborers, in the great work of settling a dreary country, and civilizing the native children of the wilderness. The principal cause of this seeming neglect in our historians and biographers may, perhaps, arise from this circumstance, that his destiny was similar to that of Moses, who, although zealously engaged in

conducting the children of Israel from Egypt to Canaan, yet never reached the land of promise, but—finished his pilgrimage in the mountain of Nebo.

As this patron of the Anglo American press died on his passage from Europe to this country, he, of course, did not become so well known, as he would have been, had he arrived and resided here.—This circumstance, probably, prevented his acquiring that celebrity to which his merits justly entitled him. Although his name is barely mentioned by two or three journalists, yet, after a diligent research, I have been enabled to obtain the following particulars respecting this venerable Father of the American Press.

### REV. JESSE GLOVER.\*

Mr. GLOVER was a worthy and wealthy dissenting clergyman in England, who engaged in the business of the settlement of Massachusetts, and had been attentively pursuing such measures for its interest and prosperity as he judged would best tend to promote them. Among other things for the benefit of the infant colony, he was very desirous of

\* His christian name has been variously spelled in the ancient records. In those of Harvard college it is abbreviated *Joss*. In the records of the county court, it is in some places written *Josse*, in others *Jesse*. In all probability the latter is his right name. The author of Wonder-Working Providence wrote it *Jos*, which in past times was the abbreviated name of *Joseph*.

establishing a press to accommodate the business both of church and state ;\* he contributed liberally towards a sum sufficient to purchase printing materials, and for this purpose solicited, in England† and Holland, the aid of others.

The ancient records of Harvard college mention, that " Mr. Joss. Glover gave to the College a ffont of Printing Letters, and some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave towards furnishing of a Printing Press with letters forty-nine pounds and something more."‡ The same records give us, also, the following names as " Benefactors to the first ffont of Letters for printing in Cambridge, in New England,

\* Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England. Lond. ed. 4to. p. 129 ; 'a very scarce book ; it is a " History of New-England from the English planting in the yeere 1628 until the yeere 1652." It was written by major Edward Johnson, who was one of the first settlers of Woburn, a very judicious and active man in the settlement of the colony ; he was a member of the general court, and employed in several important concerns of the government. He was father of the hon. William Johnson, who was chosen assistant in 1684.—Johnson bears testimony to the worth of mr. Glover, and speaks of his exertions to promote the interest of the infant colony. He mentions him, as " being able in person and estate for the work in which he was engaged ;" and " for further compleating the Colonies in Church and Common-wealth-work, he provided [in 1638] a Printer, which hath been very usefull in many respects."

† Governor Winthrop mentions that " a printing house was begun at Cambridge, at the charge of Mr. Glover." See his Journal, p. 171.

‡ Ancient records of Harvard college. Vol. 1 and 3, in MS.

Major Thomas Clark, Capt. James Oliver, Capt. Allen, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Freake, and Mr. Hues.\*

In the year 1638, mr. Glover, having obtained the means, procured a good printing apparatus, and engaged a printer to accompany it in a ship bound to Newengland. Mr. Glover, with his family, embarked in the same vessel ; but unfortunately he did not live to reach the shores of this new world.\* His widow and children, it is supposed, arrived in the autumn of that year, and settled at Cambridge ; she afterwards became the wife of mr. Henry Dunster, who was elected the first president of Harvard college.

It is not known, whether mr. Glover had been in Newengland previous to his embarking for this country in 1638 ; but I find by the records of the county of Middlesex, that he possessed a valuable real and personal estate in Massachusetts ; that he had two sons and three daughters ; that John Glover, one of the sons, was educated at Harvard college, and graduated in 1650, and was appointed a magistrate in 1652 ; that one of the daughters was

\* In the same ship in which mr. Glover embarked for Newengland, came passenger the rev. Ezekiel Rogers, who, with a number of emigrants, about sixty families, from England, settled at Rowley ; and mr. Rogers was chosen and ordained their minister. These people were the first settlers of that town ; they soon erected a number of houses, and were the first who manufactured woollen cloth in this part of America ; many of them having followed the business in its various branches in England. They built a fulling mill, and employed their children in spinning cotton, &c. [*Wond. Work. Prov.* p. 130.]



married to mr. Adam Winthrop, and another to mr. Appleton.

Mr. Glover had doubtless been written to and requested by his friends—among whom were the leading men in the new settlement of Massachusetts, who were then establishing an academy, which soon acquired the appellation of college—to provide a press, &c. not only for the advantage of the church and state, but particularly for the benefit of the academy; the records of which prove that the types and press were procured for, and, the types particularly, were the property of, that institution. The press, as appears by the records of the county court of Middlesex, 1656, was the property of Mr. Glover's heirs. Mr. Glover, it should seem, intended to have carried on both printing and bookselling; for, beside the printing materials, he had provided a stock of printing paper, and a quantity of books for sale.

John Glover, one of the sons of Jesse Glover, after the death of his mother, brought an action, in the court above mentioned, against his father in law Dunster, for the recovery of the estate which had belonged to his father and mother, and which was detained by Dunster. An inventory of the estate was filed in court; among the items were the printing press, printing paper, and a quantity of books. The inventory proves that the press, then the only one in the country, was the property of the plaintiff in the action; and, it is shewn by the said inventory, and by the records of the general court, that Dunster had had the management of the press, in right

of his wife, and as president of the college ; and, that he had received the "profits of it." As it may amuse those who feel an interest in whatever concerns the first press, and the person by whose agency the art of Printing was introduced into the colonies, and as others may be gratified by the perusal of the proceedings in, and decision of, one of the courts of justice holden in the primitive state of the country, I have extracted them, *verbatim et literatim*, from the records, and added them with the inventory beforementioned in note [g]

### CAMBRIDGE.

THE printing apparatus, as has been related, was, in the year 1638, brought to Cambridge, then as much settled as Boston ;\* both places being founded in a situation which eight years before this event, was in scriptural language, a howling wilderness—at Cambridge the building of an academy was begun ; and, it was at that place the rulers both of church and state then held their assemblies. These circumstances, probably, induced those who had the management of public affairs to fix the press there ; and, there it remained for sixty

\* Boston and Cambridge are separated by Charles river. Cambridge was first intended as the capital of the colony ; two years after the settlement began, a preference was given to Boston.

years, altogether under their control ; as were other presses afterward established in the colony ; but, for upwards of thirty years, Printing was exclusively carried on in that town,

## STEPHEN DAYE.

DAYE was the first who printed in this part of America. He was the person whom mr. Glover engaged to come to Newengland, and conduct the press. He was supposed to be a descendant of John Daye, a very eminent printer, in London, from 1560 till 1583, but this cannot be accurately ascertained. He was, however, born in London, and there served his apprenticeship to a printer.

Daye having, by the direction of the magistrates and elders, erected the press and prepared the other parts of the apparatus, began business in the first month of 1639.\*

The first work which issued from the press was *The Freeman's Oath* ;—to which succeeded, *An Almanack*.

However eminent Daye's predecessors, as printers, might have been, it does not appear that he was well skilled in the art ; it is probable he was bred to the press ; his work discovers but little of that knowledge which is requisite for a compositor.

\* Winthrop's Journal, p. 171.

In the ancient manuscript records of the colony, are several particulars respecting Daye; the first is as follows.

“Att a General Court held at Boston on the Eighth Day of the Eighth moneth [October] 1641. Steeven Day being the first that sett vpon printing, is graunted three hundred acres of land, where it may be convenient without prejudice to any town.”

In 1642, he owned several lots of land “in the bounds of Cambridge.” He mortgaged one of those lots as security for the payment of a cow, calf, and a heifer; whence, we may conclude, he was not in very affluent circumstances.\*

\* A simple memorandum of the fact, made in the book of records, was then judged sufficient, without recording a formal mortgage; this appears by the first book of records kept in the colony, now in the registry of deeds of the county of Suffolk, Massachusetts, from which the following are extracted, viz.

“Steven Day of Cambridge graunted vnto John Whyte twenty Seaven Acres of land laying in the Bounds of Cambridg for the payment of a cowe and a calf and a two yeares old heiffer.” Dated the 25th of the 5th month, 1642.

“Steeven Day of Cambridg graunted vnto Nicholaus Davidson of Meadford, all his lands on the south side of Charles River, being aboute one hundred Acres in Cambridg bounds, for surety of payment of sixty pounds, with sundry provisions.” Dated the 25th of the 5th month, 1642.

“Steeven Day of Cambridg bound over to Thomas Crosby, five lots of land in the new field beyond the water in Cambridg, number 24, 25, 26, 27, and 29th, in all sixety Acres, for the payment of fitye seaven pounds, with liberty to take off all wood and timber,” &c. Dated 16th of 2d month, 1643.

In 1643, Daye, for some offence, was by order of the general court taken into custody ; his crime does not appear on record ; the court " ordered, that Steven Day shall be released, giving 100l. Bond for appearance when called for."

Daye continued to print till about the close of the year 1648, or the beginning of 1649 ; at which time the printing house was put under the management of Samuel Green. Whether the resignation of the office of manager of the printing house, was, or was not, voluntary in Daye, cannot be ascertained. Neither the press, nor the types, belonged to him ; he had been employed only as the master workman ; his wages were undoubtedly low ; and, it evidently appears, he was embarrassed with debts. His industry and economy might not be suited to the state of his finances ; circumstances like these might cause mr. Dunster, who it seems then conducted the printing business, to be dissatisfied, and induce him to place the printing house in other hands ; or, it was possible, that Daye, finding himself and the press under a control he was unwilling to be subjected to, resigned his station.

Daye remained in Cambridge ; and, some years after he had ceased to be master workman in the printing house, brought an action against president Dunster, to recover one hundred pounds for former services. The record of the decision of the county court in that case, is as follows. " Att a County Court held at Cambridge, April, 1656, Steeven Day Plant. against Mr. Henry Dunster, Defft. in an action of the case for Labour and Expenses about the Printing Presse and the utensils

and appurtenances thereof and the manning the said worke to the vallow of one hundred pounds. The Jury finds for the Defft. costs of court."

In 1655, he had not obtained the land granted to him in 1641. This appears by the following extracts from the public records, viz.

"At a General Court of Elections holden at Boston 23d of May 1655, In answer to the Peticōn of Steeven Day of Cambridge craving that the Graunt within the year 1641 of this Court of three hundred Acres of Land to him for Recompence of his Care and Charge in furthering the worke of Printing, might be recorded, the Record whereof appears not,\* the Court Graunt his Request and doeth hereby confirme the former graunt thereof to him."

"At a General Court of Elections holden at Boston, 6th of May 1657, Steeven Day of Cambridge having often complayned that he hath suffered much dammage by Erecting the Printing Presse at Cambridge, at the Request of the Magistrates and Elders, for which he never had yett any Considerable Sattisfaction. This Court doe Graunt him three hundred Acres of Land in any place not formerly Graunted by this Court."

In the records of 1667, is the following order of the General Court relative to another petition from Daye, viz. "In answer to the Peticōn of Steeven Daye, It is ordered that the Peticōner hath liberty to procure of the Sagamore of Nashoway

\* The record appears to have been regularly made in 1641. I extracted it from the original record book of the colony for that year.

[now Lancaster] by sale, or otherwise to the quantity of one hundred and fifty acres of Vpland, and this Court doeth also graunt the petitioner twenty Acres of meadow where he can find it free of former Graunts."

Daye died in Cambridge, December 22, 1668, aged about 58 years. Rebecca Daye, probably his wife, died October 17, of the same year.

I have found but few books printed by Daye. I have never seen his name in an imprint, and, I believe, it never appeared in one. Several books printed at Cambridge, by his successor, are without the name of the printer; and, some of them do not give even the year in which they were printed; but I have identified the following

*Catalogue of Books printed by DAYE.*

1639. The Freeman's Oath.

1639. An Almanack, calculated for New England.—By Mr. Pierce, Mariner.—The year begins with March.

1640. The Psalms in Metre, Faithfully translated for the Use, Edification, and Comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New England. Crown 8vo. 300 pages. An entire copy, except the title page, is now in the possession of the rev. mr. Bentley, of Salem; this copy I have carefully examined, and although the title page is wanting, and no imprint appears, I have no doubt but it is one of the impression of the *first book* printed in this country. The type is Roman, of the size of small bodied english, entirely new, and may be called a very good letter. In this edition there are no Hymns or Spiritual Songs; it contains only the Psalms, the original long Preface, and "An Admonition to the Reader" of half a page, at the end of the Psalms after "Finis."—This "Admonition" respects the tunes suited to the psalms. The second edition

in 1647, contained a few Spiritual Songs.—The third edition, revised and amended by president Dunster, &c. had a large addition of Scripture Songs and Hymns, written by mr. Lyon. The first edition abounds with typographical errors, many of which were corrected in the second edition. This specimen of Daye's printing does not exhibit the appearance of good workmanship. The compositor must have been wholly unacquainted with punctuation. "The Preface," is the running title to that part of the work. "The." with a period, is on the left hand page, and "Preface." on the right. Periods are often omitted where they should be placed, and not seldom used where a comma only was necessary. Words of one syllable, at the end of lines, are sometimes divided by a hyphen; at other times, those of two, or more syllables, are divided without one; the spelling is bad and irregular. One thing is very singular—at the head of every left hand page throughout the book, the word "PSALM" is spelled as it should be; at the head of every right hand page, it has an e final, thus, "PSALME." Daye was probably bred a pressman; the press-work is passable. The book is bound in parchment. [h]

This was commonly called "The Bay Psalm Book," but afterward, "The New England Version of the Psalms." The rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, who published a revised and improved edition in 1758, gives, in his preface, the following account of its origin and of the first edition printed by Daye, viz. "By 1636 there were come over hither, near thirty pious and learned Ministers, educated in the Universities of England, and from the same exalted Principles of Scripture Purity in Religious Worship, they set themselves to translate the Psalms and other Scripture Songs into English Metre, as near as possible to the inspired Original. They committed this Work especially to the Rev. Mr. Weld, and the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury,\* well acquainted with the Hebrew, in which the Old Testament, and with the Greek, in which the New, were originally written. They finished the Psalms in 1640, which were first Printed by Mr. Daye that Year, at our Cambridge, and had the Honor of being the *First* Book printed in

\* Eliot who translated the Bible into the Indian language.



in North America, and as far as I find in *this whole New World.*"\*

1640. An Almanack for 1640.

1641. A Catechism, agreed upon by the Elders at the Desire of the General Court.†

1641. Body of Liberties. [This book contained an hundred Laws, which had been drawn up pursuant to an order of the general court, by Nathaniel Ward, pastor of the church in Ipswich. Mr. Ward had been a minister in England, and formerly a practitioner of law in the courts of that country.‡

1641. An Almanack for 1641. [One or more Almanacks were every year printed at the Cambridge press. In all of them the year begins with March.]

1647. The Psalms in Metre. Faithfully translated for the Use, Edification and Comfort of the Saints, in public and private, especially in New-England. Cro. 8vo. 300 pages.

[This was a second edition, somewhat amended, and a few Spiritual Songs added. After this edition was published, the rev. Henry Dunster, president of Harvard college, and a master of the Oriental languages, and mr. Richard Lyon, educated at a university in Europe, were appointed a committee further to revise and improve the Psalms, which service they performed in two or three years; when another edition was published, with the addition of other scriptural Songs. This revised version went through numerous editions, in New-england. It was reprinted in England and Scotland; and was used in many of the English dissenting congregations, as well as in a number of the churches in Scotland—it was added

\* The reverend annalist is here in an error. Printing was introduced into Mexico, and other Spanish provinces in America, many years before the settlement of the English colonies in North America.

† This work is mentioned in governor Winthrop's Journal.

‡ The "Body of Liberties" had been revised and altered by the General Court, and sent to every town for further consideration. This year the Court again revised and amended the laws contained in that book, and published and established them as an experiment for three years.

*Winthrop's Journal.*

to several English and Scotch editions of the Bible; and, went through fifty editions, including those published in Europe.]

1647. Danforth's [Samuel] Almanack for 1647. "Cambridge, Printed 1647."

1648. Danforth's [Samuel] Almanack. "Cambridge Printed 1648." The typography is rather better than usual.

1648. The Laws of the Colony of Massachusetts; drawn up by order of, and adopted by, the General Court, &c. Folio. I have not found a copy of this work.

1648. [About.] Astronomical Calculations. By a Youth. [Urian Oakes, then a student at Cambridge; where he was, afterward, settled in the ministry, and elected president of Harvard college.] The Almanack had the motto—*Parvum parva decent; sed inest sua gratia parvis*. The year in which this was published is not ascertained, nor by whom printed.\*

1649. Danforth's [Samuel] Almanack. "Cambridge, Printed."

Beside the works already enumerated, there were many others printed by Daye; but, no copies of them are now to be found.

Although I have not been able to discover a copy of the laws, printed in 1648; yet, respecting this edition, there is the following record, viz.

"At a General Court of Elections held at Boston 8th month, 1648. It is ordered by the Court that the Booke of Lawes now at the Presse may be sould in Quires at 3s. the booke provided that every member of this Court shall have one without price, and the Auditor Generall and Mr. Joseph Hills; for which there shall be fifty in all taken up to be so disposed by the appointment of this Court." [i]

\* It is mentioned by Mather in his *Magnalia*, by Holmes in his *History of Cambridge*, in *Hist. Col.*—and, by others.

## SAMUEL GREEN.

WAS the son of Percival and Ellen Green ; who, with their children and other relations, were among the first settlers of Cambridge ;\* they emigrated from England, and arrived with governor Winthrop, in 1630. Green and his family came in the ship in which the hon. Thomas Dudley, deputy governor, was a passenger.† Samuel Green was then only sixteen years of age. He was in Cambridge eight years before Daye came from England ; but was unknown as a printer until about 1649, nearly eleven years after Daye's arrival.

Some writers, since the year 1733, erroneously mention Green as the "first who printed in New-england, or in North America."

All the records I have examined are silent respecting the cause of Daye's relinquishing the man-

\* The records of the county of Middlesex inform us, that four sons of Percival Green, were living in 1691, viz. Samuel, Nathaniel, Edward, and Thomas—a fifth son, whose name was John, died some years before ; Percival had a brother, Bartholomew, who also settled in Cambridge. After the death of Percival Green, his widow married Thomas Fox. In 1691, Samuel Green and his brothers sued Fox for recovery of a lot of land in Cambridge, that he then held in possession, which had belonged to their father.

† Boston News-Letter, Jan. 30, 1733.

agement of the press ; nor do they give any reason why his place in the printing house was supplied by the appointment of Green. The similarity of Green's first printing to that of Daye's, induces me to believe that Green was unacquainted with the art, when he undertook the management of the press, and that he was assisted by Daye, who continued to reside in Cambridge ; and, whose poverty, probably, induced him to become, not only an instructor, but, a journeyman to Green.

By the records of the colony, it appears, that the President of the college still had the direction of the concerns of the printing house, and made contracts for printing ; and, that he was responsible for the productions of the press, until licensers were appointed. I have extracted the following from the records of 1650 and 1654.

“ At a third meeting of the General Court of Elections at Boston, the 15th of October 1650, It is ordered that Richard Bellingham, Esquir, the Secretary and Mr. Hills, or aney Two of them, are appointed a Comittee to take order for the printing the Lawes Agreed vppon to be printed, to determine of all Things in reference thereunto. Agreeing with the President ffor the printing of them with all Expedition and to Alter the title if there be Cawse.”\*

“ At a General Court of Elections, held at Boston, the third of May 1654. It is ordered by this Court that henceforth the Secretary shall, within tenn dayes after this present sessions, and so from time to time deliver a copie of all Lawes that are to

\* MS. Records of the Colony, Vol. 2. p. 40.

be published, unto the President or printer who shall forthwith make an Impression thereof to the number of five, Six, or Seven hundred as the Court shall order, all which Coppies the Treasurer shall take of and pay for in wheate, or otherwise to Content, for the Nounber of five hundred, after the rate of one penny a Sheete, or eight shillings a hundred for five hundred sheetes of a Sorte, for so many sheetes as the bookes shall contajne, and the Treasurer shall disterbute the bookes to every magistrate one, to every Court one, to the Secretary one, to each towne where no magistrate dwells one, and the rest amongst the Townes that beare publick charge with this jurisdiction, according to the number of freemen in each Towne. And the order that Ingageth the Secretary to transcribe coppies for the Townes and others, is in that respect repealed.”\*

“ At a General Court held at Boston 9th of June 1654 Upon Conference with Mr. Dunster, [president of the college] and the printer in reference to the imprinting of the Acts of the General Court, whereby we understand some inconveniencies may accrue to the Printer by printing that Law which recites the agreement for printing. It is therefore Ordered, that the said Law be not put forth in print, but kept amongst the written records of this Court.”

\* I have quoted ancient records in many instances, as they not only give facts correctly, but convey to us the language, &c. of the periods in which they were made.

Whether Green was, or was not acquainted with printing, he certainly, some time after he began that business, prosecuted it in such a way as, generally, met approbation. He might, by frequenting the printing house, when it was under the care of Daye, have obtained that knowledge of the art, which enabled him, with good workmen, to carry it on; be this as it may, it is certain that as he proceeded with the execution of the business, he seems to have acquired more consequence as a printer; his work, however, did not discover that skill of the compositor, or the pressman, that was afterwards shewn when Johnson, who was sent over to assist in printing the *Indian Bible*, arrived.

In 1658, Green petitioned the general court for a grant of land. The court took his petition into consideration, and determined as follows, viz.

“ At the Second Sessions of the General Court held at Boston the 19th of October 1658, in answer to the Petición of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, printer. The Court judgeth it meete for his Encouragement to graunt him three hundred acres of Land where it is to be found.”

In 1659, the records of the colony contain the following order of the general court. “ It is ordered by this Court that the Treasurer shall and hereby is empowered to disburse out of the Treasury what shall be necessary tending towards the printing of the Lawes, to Samuel Greene, referring to his Pajnes therein or otherwise.” This edition of the Laws was ordered to be printed December 1658, and was finished at the press, October 16th, 1660.

From the MS. records of the commissioners of the united colonies, who were agents for the corporation, in England, for propagating the gospel among the Indians, in Newengland, we find, that in 1656, there were two presses in Cambridge both under the care of Green. One belonged to the college, which undoubtedly was the press that mr. Glover purchased in England, and Daye brought over to America ; the other, was the property of the corporation in England. There were types appropriated to each.

The corporation, for a time, had their printing executed in London ; but, when the Indian youth had been taught to read, &c. at the school at Cambridge, established for the purpose, and mr. Eliot and mr. Pierson, had translated Primers and Catechisms into the Indian language, for the common use of the Indians, and eventually translated the Bible, it became necessary that these works should be printed in America, under the inspection of the translators. For this reason the corporation sent over a press and types ; furnished every printing material for their work ; and, even paid for mending of the press, when out of repair. In September, 1654, the commissioners in the united colonies found that a sufficient quantity of paper and types for the purpose of executing the works which were projected, had not been received ; they, therefore, wrote to the corporation in England for an augmentation to the value of 20l.\* The articles arrived in 1655.

Green judging it necessary to have more types for the Indian work, in 1658 petitioned the general

\* All the sums are in sterling money.

court to that purpose. The court decided thereon as follows, viz.

“ At a General Court holden at Boston 19th of May 1658. In answer to the Peticōn of Samuel Green, printer, at Cambridge, The Court Judgeth it meete to Comend the consideration therof to the Comissioners of the United Colonjes at their next meeting that so if they see meete they may write to the Corporation in England for the procuring of twenty pounds worth more of letters for the vse of the Indian Colledg.”

When the press and types, &c. sent by the corporation in England, for printing the Bible and other books in the Indian Language, arrived, they were added to the printing materials belonging to the college, and, altogether made a well furnished printing house; the types were neat, and the faces of them as handsome as any that were made at that time; they consisted of small founts of nonpareil, brevier, long primer, small pica, pica, english, great primer, and double pica; also, small casts of long primer and pica Hebrew, Greek, and blacks.

The building occupied for a printing house, was well suited to the business. It had been designed for a college for the Indian youth.\*

\* General Daniel Gookin, who lived in Cambridge, and who, in 1662, was appointed one of the two first licensers of the press, mentions in his work, entitled “ Historical Collections of the Indians, of New England,” dedicated to king Charles II, that “ the house erected for the Indian college, built strong and substantial of brick, at the expense of the Corporation in England, for propagating the Gospel in New England, and cost between 300l. and 400l. not being improved for



Green now began printing the Bible in the Indian language, which, even at this day, would be thought a work of labor, and must, at that early period of the settlement of the country, have been considered a business difficult to accomplish, and of great magnitude. It was a work of so much consequence as to arrest the attention of the nobility and gentry of England, as well as that of king Charles, to whom it was dedicated. The press of Harvard college, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was, for a time, as celebrated as the presses of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England. Having obtained many particulars relating to the printing of this edition of the Bible, I will follow Green through that arduous undertaking.

In 1659, Hezekiah Usher, merchant, and bookseller, of Boston, agent for the corporation, charges that body 40 l. paid Green for printing "the Psalms and Mr. Pierson's Catechisme," &c. and credits 80 l. in printing types; he, also, gives credit for one hundred and four reams of paper, sent by the corporation, toward printing the New Testament "in the Indian language." The corporation, in a letter dated London, April 28, 1660; and directed to the commissioners, observes, "Concerning your Printing the New Testament in the Indian Language, a sheet whereof you haue transmitted to vs, wee concurr with youerselues therin, and doe ap-

the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian Scholars, was taken to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using the Printing Press belonging to the College," &c. This building was taken down many years since. It stood not far from the other buildings of the college.

proue of that prouision you have made for printing the same conceiueing and offering as our judgments that it is better to print fifteen hundred than but a thousand ; hoping that by incurragement from Si-on Collidge, with whom we haue late conference, you may bee enabled to print fifteen hundred of the Ould Testament likewise."

Usher, in his account rendered to the corporation, in 1660, debits the stock of the corporation with two hundred reams of printing paper, "bought since he rendered his last account," and with printing ink and types, and "setting them in the presse" the gross sum of £ 120 1 8 ; and, to "cash paid Mr. Green for distributing the ffont of letters and printing six sheets of the New Testament in Indian att four pounds per sheet, £ 24."

In September 1661, the commissioners, who that year met at Plymouth, wrote to mr. Usher ; and, among other things, thanked him for his "care in prouiding Matterials and furthering the printing of the Bible, and desire the continuance of the same vntill it bee Issued ;" and to "pay Mr. Green for printing the same as formerly ; also to "demaund and receiue of Mr. Green the whole Impression of the New Testament in Indian, now finished ; and take care for the binding of two hundred of them strongly, and as speedily as may bee with leather or as may bee most serviceable for the Indians ; and deliuer them forth as you shall haue direction from any of the comissioners for the time being of which keep an exact account that soe it may bee seen how they are Improved and disposed of ; alsoe, wee pray you take order for the printing of a thous-

and coppyes of Mr. Eliotts Catichismes which we vnderstand are much wanting amongst the Indians, which being finished, Receiue from the Presse and dispose of them according to order abouesaid."

The agent, in his account current with the corporation in 1662, has, among other charges, one for "Disbursements for printing the Bible as per bill of particulars £234 11 8."\*

This bill was only for one year ending September 1662. At that time Green, by direction, gave to the commissioners—

"An account of the Vtensils for Printing belonging to the Corporation, in the costody of Samuell Green of Cambridge Printer and giuen in vnder his hand, viz.

The presse with what belongs to it with one tinn pann and two frisketts.

\* The following is the bill of particulars, as charged by Green, viz.

To mending of the windowes of the printing house,	£ 1	0	5
To pack thrid and uellum,		5	6
To 2 barrells of Inke and leather for balls,	20	0	0
To hide for the presse being broken,	1	0	0
To 160 Reams of paper Att 6s. per ream,	48	0	0
To printing the Title sheet to the New Testament,	1	0	0
To printing 1500 Cattechismes,	15	0	0
To printing 21 sheets of the Old Testament, att 3lb. 10 s. per sheet Mr. Iohnson being absent,	73	10	0
To printing 25 sheets with his healp att 50 shill. per sheet,	62	10	0
To binding 200 Testaments att 6 d. a peece,	5	0	0
To Mr. Iohnsons board,	7	5	9
	<hr/>		
	£ 234 11 8		

Item two table of Cases of letters [types] with one ode [odd] Case.

Item the ffontt of letters together with Imperfections that came since.

Item one brasse bed, one Imposing Stone.

Item two barrells of Inke, 3 Chases, 2 composing stickes one ley brush 2 candlestickes one for the Case the other for the Presse.

Item the frame and box for the sesteren [water trough.]

Item the Riglet brasse rules and scabbard the Sponge 1 galley 1 mallett 1 sheeting [shooting] sticke and furniture for the chases.

Item the letters [types] that came before that were mingled with the colledges."

At the meeting of the commissioners in September 1663, the agent charges the corporation with the balance due for printing the Bible, which he paid that month to Green, in full for his services, £140 12 6. Green, at this meeting, gave in an account of all the printing paper he had received at different times, from the corporation, and their agent, amounting to 469 reams; 368 reams of which he had used in printing the Bible, 30 reams in printing two Catechisms, and there remained in his hands 71 reams.

At the meeting of the commissioners in September 1664, among the articles charged in the agent's account with the corporation, was the following bill of sundries paid to Green, viz.

"To expences about the presse for mending it; making new Chases, and to

twenty seaven skins for balls &c.

£ 4 4 4

To two smale Chests to put the Bibles in [20 copies] that were sent to Eng- land,	5 0
To printing the Indian Psalmes to go with the Bible, 13 sheets att 2 lb per sheet,	26 0 0
To printing the Epistle dedicatory to the Bible,	1 0 0
To printing Baxter's Call in Indian, eight sheets at 50s. per sheet,	20 0 0
To printing the Psalter in Indian, 9 sheets at 20s.	9 0 0
To one yeares board of Iohnson,	15 0 0
The agent, in his account for 1669, charges, "Cash paid Green for binding and clasping 200 Indian Bibles at 2 s. 6 d. £ 25.—For binding 200 Practice of Piety at 6d. £ 5.—For do. 400 Baxter's Call at 3s. per 100, 12s." &c.	

I have made a calculation from the documents I have seen, and find the whole expense attending the carrying through the press, 1000 copies of the Bible; 500 additional copies of the New Testament; an edition of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted; an edition of the Psalter, and two editions of Eliot's Catechism, all in the Indian language, including the cost of the types for printing the Bible, and the binding a part of them, and also the binding of a part of Baxter's Call, and the Psalters, amounted to a fraction more than 1200 l. sterling. The Bible was printed on a fine paper of pot size, and in-quarto. After the first edition of the Bible, and some other books in the Indian language, had been completed at the press belonging to the corporation for propagating the gospel, &c. the corporation made a pres-

ent of their printing materials to the college. On this occasion the government of the college ordered as follows.

“Harvard Colledge Sept. 20, 1670. The honorable Corporation for the Indians having ordered their Printing Presse, letters, and Vtensils to be delivered to the Colledge, the Treasurer is ordered forthwith to take order for the receiveing thereof, and to dispose of the same for the Colledge use and improvement.”\* Green, by direction, gave to the president a schedule of the articles, and valued them at 80 l. That sum must have been very low. With these types he began another edition of the Indian Bible in 1680, and completed it in 1686.

Some small religious treatises having been published in 1662, which the general court, or some of the ruling clergy, judged rather too liberal, and tending to open the door of heresy, licensers of the press were appointed;† but, on the 27th of May, 1663, the general court “Ordered that the Printing Presse be at liberty as formerly, till this Court shall take further order, and the late order is hereby repealed.”‡

After this order was passed, a more free use of the press seems to have been made; this immediately arrested the attention of government, and

\* College records. Vol. 1.

† Major Daniel Gookin and the rev. Jonathan Mitchell were the first appointed licensers of the press. [Ancient records of the colony.]

‡ Ancient records of the colony.

soon awakened their fears ; and the following rigid edict was in consequence passed, viz.

“ At a General Court called by order from the Governour, Deputy Governour, and other Magistrates, held at Boston 19th of October 1664. For the preventing of Irregularities and abuse to the authority of this Country, by the Printing Presse, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that theer shall no Printing Presse be allowed in any Towne within this Jurisdiction, but in Cambridge, nor shall any person or persons presume to print any Copie but by the allowance first had and obtayned under the hands of such as this Court shall from tyme to tyme Impower ; the President of the Colledge, Mr. John Shearman, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell and Mr. Thomas Shephard, or any two of them to survey such Copie or Coppies and to prohibit or allow the same according to this order ; and in case of non observance of this order, to forfeit the Presse to the Country and be disabled from Vsing any such profession within this Jurisdiction for the tyme to Come. Provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any Coppies which this Court shall Judge meete to order to be published in Print.”\*

Government appears not only to have required a compliance with the above law, but to have exercised a power independent of it. The licensers of the press had permitted the reprinting of a book written by Thomas à Kempis, entitled “ Imitation of Christ,” &c. a work well known in the Christian

\* Ancient MS. records of the colony.

world. This treatise was represented to the court by some of its members, in their session in 1667, as being heretical ; whereupon, the court passed an order, as follows.—“ This Court being informed that there is now in the Presse reprinting, a book that Imitates of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas Kempis, a popish minister, wherein is containd some things that are lesse safe to be infused amongst the people of this place, Doe comend it to the licensers of the Presse the more full revisale thereof, and that in the meane tyme there be no further progresse in that work.”

In 1671, the general court ordered an edition of the laws, revised, &c. to be printed. Heretofore the laws had been published at the expense of the colony. John Usher, a wealthy bookseller, who was then, or soon after, treasurer of the province, made interest to have the publishing of this edition on his own account. This circumstance produced the first instance, in this country, of the security of copy right by law. Usher contracted with Green to print the work ; but, suspecting that Green might print additional copies for himself, or that Johnson, who was permitted to print at Cambridge, would reprint from his copy—two laws, at the request of Usher, were passed to secure to him this particular work ; these laws are copied from the manuscript records ; the first was in May, 1672, and is as follows, viz.

“ In answer to the petition of John Vsher, the Court Judgeth it meete to order, and be it by this Court ordered and Enacted, That no Printer shall print any more Coppies than are agreed and paid



for by the owner of the Coppie or Coppies, nor shall he nor any other reprint or make Sale of any of the same without the said Owner's consent upon the forfeiture and penalty of treble the whole charge of Printing and paper, of the whole quantity paid for by the owner of the Coppie, to the said owner or his Assigns."

When the book was published, Usher, not satisfied with the law already made in his favor, petitioned the court to secure him the copy right for seven years. In compliance with the prayer of his petition, the court, in May, 1673, decreed as follows.

"John Vsher Having been at the Sole Chardge of the Impression of the booke of Lawes; and presented the Governour, Magistrates, Secretary, as also every Deputy, and the Clark of the deputation with one. The Court Judgeth it meete to order that for at least Seven years, Vinlesse he shall have sold them all before that tyme, there shall be no other or further Impression made by any person thereof in this Jurisdiction, under the penalty this court shall see cause to lay on any that shall adventure in that Kind, besides making full satisfaction to the said Jno Vsher or his Assigns, for his chardge and damage thereon. Voted by the whole court met together."

Another edition of the laws of the colony, revised, was put to the press in 1685. Respecting this edition, the court "Ordered, for the greater expedition in the present revisal of the Laws they shall be sent to the Presse Sheete by Sheete, and the Treasurer shall make payment to the Printer for the same,

Paper and work ; and Elisha Cook and Samuel Sewall Esqrs. are desired to oversee the Presse about that work."

There is among the records of the colony for 1667, one as follows.—"Layd out to Ensign Samuel Green of Cambridge printer three hundred Acres of land in the wilderness on the north of Merrimacht River on the west side of Haverhill, bounded on the north east of two little ponds beginning at a red oak in Haverhill," &c. "The Court allowed of the returne of this farme as laid out."

Green continued printing till he became aged.

By the records of the earliest English proprietors of Cambridge it appears, that Green was the owner of several valuable tracts of land in and about that town.

Green often mentioned to his children, that for some time after his arrival in Newengland, he, and several others, were obliged to lodge in large empty casks, having no other shelter from the weather ; so few were the huts then erected by our hardy and venerable ancestors. He had nineteen children ; eight by his first wife, and eleven by a second, who was daughter of Mr. Clarke, an elder in the church in Cambridge, and to whom he was married Feb. 23, 1662.\* Nine of the children by the second wife lived to the age of fifty two years, or upwards.

The Cambridge company of militia elected Green to be their captain ; and, as such, he bore a commission for thirty years. He took great pleasure in military exercises ; and, when he became,

\* Middlesex records of marriages and deaths. Vol. 3.

through age, too infirm to walk to the field, he insisted on being carried there in his chair, on days of muster, that he might review and exercise his company.\*

He was for many years chosen town clerk. And, in the Middlesex records, vol. 1, is the following particular, viz.

“ At a County Court held at Cambridge the 5th 8th month 1652, Samuel Green is allowed Clarke of the Writts for Cambridge.”

Green was a pious and benevolent man, and as such was greatly esteemed. He died, at Cambridge, January 1st, 1702, aged eighty seven years.

Until the commencement of the revolution in 1775, Boston was not without one or more printers by the name of Green. These all descended from Green of Cambridge. Some of his descendants have, for nearly a century past, been printers in Connecticut. One of them, in 1740, removed to Annapolis, and established the Maryland Gazette ; which is still continued by the family.

No printing was done at Cambridge after Green's death. The press was established in this place sixty years ; and, about fifty of them, Green, under government, was the manager of it. He was printer to the college as long as he continued in business.

Soon after his decease, the printing materials were removed from Cambridge and, probably, sold. It does not appear, that the corporation of the college owned any types after this time, till about the year 1718, when mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, a great benefactor to the college, among other gifts

\* Boston News-Letter, Jan. 1733.

presented to the university, a fount, or cast, of Hebrew, and another of Greek types, both of them were of the size of long primer. The Greek was not used till 1761, when the government of the college had a work printed entitled, *Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos*, dedicated to king George the third, on his accession to the throne; two of these poetical essays being written in Greek, called these types into use. They were never used but at that time, and were, in January, 1764, destroyed by the fire that consumed Harvard hall, one of the college buildings, in which the types and college library, were deposited; the cast of Hebrew escaped, having been sent to Boston some time before, to print professor Sewall's Hebrew Grammar.

The following is a catalogue of the books that I have ascertained were printed by Green, and by Green and Johnson; the greater part of them I have seen. Those in which Marmaduke Johnson was concerned, have the names of the printers added.

*Catalogue of Books printed by GREEN.*

1649. "A Platform of Church Discipline gathered out of the word of God: and agreed upon by the Elders; and Messengers of the Churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England to be presented to the Churches and Generall Court for their consideration and acceptance, in the Lord. The Eight Moneth Anno 1649. Printed by S G at Cambridge in New England and are to be Sold at Cambridge and Boston Anno Dom: 1649." Quarto, of pot size, 44 pages.

[This book appears to be printed by one who was but little acquainted with the typographic art; it is a further proof that

Green was not bred to it; and, that this was one of the first books from the press, after he began printing.

The type is new pica, or one but little worn; the press work is very bad, and that of the case no better. The punctuation in the title is exactly copied; the compositor did not seem to know the use of points; there are spaces before commas, periods, parentheses, &c. The head of "The Preface" is in two lines of large capitals, but has no point after it—nor is there any after "FINIS" which word is in two line capitals at the end of the book. The pages of the Preface have a running title; with the folio, or number of the pages, in brackets immediately following in the centre of a line, thus,

#### The Preface [2]

The printer did not appear to have had any acquaintance with signatures. The book is printed and folded in whole sheets, without insets; the title page is printed separately; in the first sheet, at the bottom of the first page, is "Aa," third page "Aaa," fifth page "Aaa," seventh page "Aaaa." The second sheet has the signature A at the bottom of the first page of that sheet; "Aa," third page; "Aaa," fifth page; and, "Aaaa," seventh page. The third sheet begins with B, which, with the following sheets, have as many signatures to each as the first and second; but all, excepting those on the first and third pages of a sheet, were uncommon, and have not any apparent meaning. Every part of the work shews the want of common skill in the compositor. Facs, and ornamented large capitals cut on wood, are used at the beginning of the preface, and at the first chapter of the work. A head piece of flowers is placed at the beginning of the text, and a line of flowers between each chapter. In the book are many references to scripture, in marginal notes, on brevier. Letters of abbreviation are frequently used—such as cōmend, allowāce, compāy, acquait, frō, offēce, offēded, partakīg, cōfession, &c. The spelling is very ancient, as els, forme, vpon, owne, wildernes, powr, eyther, wee, acknowledg, minde, doctrin, therin, wherin, himselfe, patrone, choyce, sovaraigne, sinne, satisfie, greife, &c. As I believe this book to be one of the first printed by Green, I have been thus particular in describ-

ing it ; soon after this period his printing was much improved.] [The Platform, &c. was reprinted in London, in 1653, for "Peter Cole, at the Sign of the Printing Press, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange."]

1650. Norton's [John] Heart of New England rent at the Blasphemies of the present Generation. 4to. 58 pages.

1650. The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated into English Metre, For the Use, Edification and Comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New England. 2 Tim. 3: 16, 17. Col. 3: 16. Eph. 5: 18, 19. James 5: 13." Crown 8vo. 308 pages. [This was the Newengland version of the Psalms, revised and improved by president Dunster and Richard Lyon, mentioned by the rev. Thomas Prince.]

1653. Eliot's [John] Catechism. [In the Indian language. Printed at the expense of the corporation in England for propagating the gospel among the Indians in Newengland.]

1656. An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1656. By T. S. Philomathemat. Foolsap. 8vo. 16 pages. [This Almanack I own. It appears that an Almanack was annually printed at Cambridge, from the first establishment of the press, till near the close of the 17th century. Many of them I have seen, and those I shall more particularly take notice of.]

1657. An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1657. By S. B. Philomathemat. Foolsap. 8vo. 16 pages. [I have a copy of this.]

1657. Mather's [Richard] Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester, in New England. "Printed at Cambridge." 4to. 28 pages.

1658. Pierson's Catechism. [In the Indian language, for the use of the Indians in Newhaven jurisdiction.]

1659. Version of the Psalms in the Indian Language.

1661. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated into the Indian Language and ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, at the Charge and with the Consent of the Corporation in England, for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. The Indian title is thus, Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppo-

quohwussuaeneumun. With marginal notes. Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. The whole in the Indian language, except having two title pages, one of which is in English. Quarto. [k] [Some copies were dedicated to the king.]

1661. Eliot's [John] Catechism. [In the Indian language.] Second edition. [1000 copies were printed.]

1661. The Psalms of David in Indian Verse, entitled, Wame Ketoohomae Uketoohomaongash David. 4to. [This Indian version accompanied the New Testament, and when the Old Testament was finished they were bound up together.]

1662. Propositions to the Elders and other Messengers of the Churches, concerning Baptisme. Recommended by the General Court. 4to. 48 pages.

1662. Answer of the Elders and other Messengers of the Churches assembled at Boston 1662, to the Questions proposed to them by order of the Honoured General Court. 4to. 60 pages.

1662. An Almanack for 1662. [Title page lost.]

1662. Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana. By John Alin of Dedham. 4to. 38 pages. [No printer's name nor year are mentioned. This was reprinted in London.]

1663. The Holy Bible: Containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated into the Indian Language, and ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, at the Charge and with the Consent of the Corporation in England for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. [l] Quarto. Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. It had marginal notes; and also an Indian title page, for which see the second edition in 1685. [This work was printed with new types, full faced bourgeois on brevier body, cast for the purpose, and on good paper. The New Testament which was first printed in 1661, was on the same types and like paper. The Old Testament was three years in the press. I have a copy of the Old and New Testament, with the Version of the Psalms, complete. It is a great typographical curiosity. A dedication, see note [k] to king Charles II, was prefixed to a number of copies.]

1663. *An Almanack for 1663.* By Israel Chauncy.  
Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1663. Davenport's [John, of New Haven] *Another Essay for investigation of the Truth in answer to two Questions concerning, I. The subject of Baptisme. II. The Consociation of Churches.* Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green and Marnaduke Johnson, 4to. 82 pages.

1663. *Shepard's Church Membership.* 4to. 50 pages.

1663. *Shepard's Letter on the Church Membership of Children and their Right to Baptisme.* Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

— Certain Positions out of the Holy Scriptures, premissed to the whole ensuing Discourse. Printed at Cambridge. 4to. 80 pages. [Year and printer's name not mentioned.]

1663. Cotton's [John] *Discourse on Civil Government in a New Plantation.* 4to. 24 pages. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1663. Higginson's [John] *Cause of God and his People in New England. An Election Sermon at Boston, 1663.* 4to. 28 pages.

1664. *Shepard's Sincere Convert.* 12mo.

1664. Allin's [John, of Dedham] *Anti-Synodalia Americana.* 4to. 100 pages. Second edition. Reprinted at Cambridge by S. G. & M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston.

1664. *Animadversions upon the Anti-Synodalia Americana, a Treatise printed in Old England in the Name of the Dissenting Brethren in the Synod held at Boston in Newengland 1662, and written by John Allin, Pastor of the Church in Dedham.* 4to. 86 pages. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1664. *Defence of the Answers and Arguments of the Synod met at Boston in the yeare 1662.* 4to. 150 pages. Printed by S. Green & M. Johnson, for Hezekiah Usher of Boston.

1664. *Defence of the Synod by some of the Elders.* 48 pages, small type. Printed by S. G. & M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston.



1664. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*. Translated into the Indian Language by the Rev. John Eliot. Small 8vo. 180 pages. [1000 copies were printed.]

1664. *The Psalter*. Translated into the Indian Language by the Rev. John Eliot. Small 8vo. 150 pages. [500 copies were printed.]

1664. *Indian Grammar*. About 60 pages. 4to. [No year is mentioned, as I find is often the case with other printers besides Green, but it must have been printed about 1664.]

1664. *Whiting's [Samuel] Discourse on the Last Judgment*. 12mo. 170 pages. Printed by S. G. and M. J.

1664. *Chauncey's [Israel] Almanack for 1664*. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1664. *Nowell's [Alexander] Almanack for 1665*.

1665. *Collection of the Testimonies of the Fathers of the New England Churches respecting Baptism*. 4to. 32 pages.

— *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully Translated into English Metre. For the Use, Edification and Comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New England*. Small 12mo. 100 pages, two columns to each, in nonpareil. "Cambridge. Printed for Hezekiah Usher of Boston."

[This was, I believe, the third edition of the Newengland Version of the Psalms after it had been revised and improved by president Dunster, &c. and the fifth, including all the former editions. [m] I have a complete copy of this edition, but the name of the printer, and the year in which it was printed, are not mentioned. It is calculated by being printed in a small page, with a very small type, to bind up with English editions of the pocket Bible; and, as the printing is executed by a good workman, and is the best that I have seen from the Cambridge press, I conclude, therefore, it could not be printed by Green before the arrival of Marmaduke Johnson in 1660; I have no doubt it was printed under Johnson's care; and, probably, soon after the Indian Bible came from the press in 1663. Johnson was a good printer, and so called by the corporation in England, who engaged, and sent him over, to assist Green in printing that work. Although in this edition the

typography far exceeds in neatness any work then printed in the country, it is very incorrect; but this might have been more the fault of the corrector of the press, than of the printer. My belief that it was published about the year 1664, or 1665, is confirmed by its being printed for Hezekiah Usher, the only bookseller that I can find an account of at that time, in Newengland. He dealt largely in merchandise, and was then agent to the corporation in England, for propagating the gospel in Newengland. It is a curious fact, that nonpareil types were used so early in this country; I have not seen them in any other book printed either at Cambridge, or Boston, before the revolution; even brevier types had been but seldom used in the printing houses, in Boston, earlier than 1760. The nonpareil used for the Psalms was new, and a very handsome faced letter.]

1665. The Conditions for New Planters in the Territories\* of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Printed at Cambridge, on the face of half a sheet.

1665. Practice of Piety. [Translated into the Indian language.] Small 8vo. about 160 pages.

1666. Whiting's, [Samuel, of Lynn] Meditations upon Genesis xviii, from ver. 23 to the end of the chapter. 12mo. 350 pages. "Printed and Sold at Cambridge." [No printer's name, but undoubtedly from Green's press.]

1666. Flint's [Josiah] Almanack for 1666. Φιλομαθης, after Flint's name. "Printed Anno Dom. 1666."

1667. Mitchell's [Jonathan] Nehemiah upon the Wall. An Election Sermon, May 1667. "Printed at Cambridge." [No printer's name.]

1667. Practice of Piety. Translated into the Indian language, by the Rev. John Eliot. Second edition.

1667. Beakenbury's [Samuel] Almanack for 1667.

1668. Dudley's [Joseph] Almanack for 1668.

1668. Elegy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the Church in Charlestown. By Urian Oakes. 4to.

1669. Moreton's [Nathaniel] New England's Memorial. 216 pages, 4to. Printed by S. G. & M. J. for John Usher of Boston.

\* Newyork.

1669. An Almanack for 1669. By J. B. Printed by S. G. & M. J.

1670. Danforth's Election Sermon at Boston, 1670. 4to. 24 pages. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1670. Stoughton's [William] Election Sermon, 1670. 4to.

1670. An Almanack for 1670. By J. R. Printed by S. G. & M. J.

1670. Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather; Teacher of the Church in Dorchester, New-England. 4to. 42 pages. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1670. Walley's [Thomas, of Boston] Balm of Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds. An Election Sermon, preached at New-Plimouth, 1669. 20 pages. 4to. Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson.

1670. Mather's [Samuel] Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry and Superstition, preached in Dublin 1660. 4to. 80 pages. [No printer's name] "Reprinted at Cambridge."

1671. Mather's [Eleazar, of Northampton] Exhortation to the present and succeeding Generations. 4to. 32 pages. Printed by S. G. & M. J.

1671. An Almanack for 1671. [Title page lost.]

1672. An Artillery Election Sermon 1672. By the Rev. Urian Oakes. 4to.

1672. Mather's [Increase] Word to the present and succeeding Generations of New England. 4to. 36 pages.

1672. Eye Salve, or a Watch Word from our Lord Jesus Christ unto his Churches, especially in the Colony of Massachusetts. An Election Sermon preached at Boston 1672, By Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown. 4to. 56 pages.

1672. Allin's [John, of Dedham] Spouse of Christ coming out of Affliction, leaning upon her Beloved. 4to. 32 pages. "Printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, and are to be Sold by John Tappan of Boston."

1672. The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony, Revised and alphabetically arranged. To which

are added, "Precedents and Forms of things frequently used." With a complete index to the whole. Re-printed by order of the General Court Holden at Boston, May 15, 1672. Edward Rawson, Secr. *Whoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Rom. xiii. 2. Folio. 200 pages. [Well printed. There is a small wooden cut of the colony arms as a frontispiece opposite to the title page, indifferently executed, and a large handsome head piece cut on wood at the beginning of the first page of the laws. Printed by S. Green, for John Usher of Boston.]

1672. The Book of the General Laws of the Inhabitants of New Plimouth, collected out of the Records of the General Court. Published by the Authority of the General Court of that Jurisdiction, held at Plimouth the 6th day of June 1671. The following text of scripture is in the title page—*Be subject to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. Folio. 50 pages.

1672. Indian Logic Primer. By John Eliot.

1672. Several "Laws and Orders" made at the General Court at Boston, 1672. 8 pages. Folio.

1673. The Book of the General Laws for the People within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut. Collected out of the Records of the General Court. Lately revised and published by the Authority of the General Court of Connecticut, 1672. Has a text from scripture in the title page, viz.—*Let us walk honestly as in the Day, not in Rioting and Drunkenness; not in Chambering and Wantonness; not in Strife and Envy.* Rom. xiii. 13. [There is a small wooden cut of the arms of Connecticut in the title page. The arms are fifteen grape vines, with a hand over them holding a scroll, on which is this motto—*Sustinet qui transtulit.* Folio. 76 pages.

1673. New England Pleaded with, and pressed to Consider the Things which concern her Peace. An Election Sermon 1673. By Urian Oakes. 4to. 64 pages.

1674. The Unconquerable, All-Conquering, and more than Conquering Souldier, or the Successful Warre which a Believer wagemeth with the Enemies of his Soul. An Artillery

**Election Sermon, June, 1672. By Urian Oakes. 4to. 46 pages.**

1674. David Serving his Generation. An Election Sermon before the General Court of New Plymouth, June 1674. By Samuel Arnold of Marshfield. 4to. 24 pages. *Imprimatur* John Oxenbridge and Increase Mather.

1674. Several "Laws and Orders," made at the General Court at Boston, 1674. 4 pages. Folio.

1674. Moody's [Joshua] Souldiers Spiritualized, or the Christian Souldier orderly and Strenuously engaged in the Spiritual Warre, and so fighting the Good Fight. A Sermon preached at Boston on Artillery Election 1674. 4to. 48 pages.

1674. Fitch's [James, of Norwich] Holy Connexion. An Election Sermon at Hartford, Connecticut, 1674. 4to. 24 pages.

1675. Several "Laws and Orders" made at the Sessions of the General Court at Boston in 1675. Folio. 20 pages.

1675. Mather's [Increase] First Principles of New England concerning the subject of Baptisme and Church Communion. 4to. 56 pages.

1675. Mather's [Increase] Discourse concerning the subject of Baptisme. 4to. 82 pages.

1676. Heart Garrisoned; or the Wisdome and Care of the Spiritual Souldier above all Things to Safeguard his Heart. An Artillery Election Sermon. By Samuel Willard. 4to. 24 pages.

1677. Several "Laws and Orders," made at the first Session of the General Court for Elections 1677, at Boston. Folio. 4 pages.

1679. An Almanack for 1679. By Philomath.

1682. Narrative of the Captivity and Restouration of Mrs. Mary Roulandson. 8vo.

1682. Oakes's [Urian] Fast Sermon, delivered at Cambridge. 4to. 32 pages.

1682. Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion; or the Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman. By Cotton

Mather. 12mo. 116 pages. Printed by *S. G. & B. G.* for Samuel Phillips of Boston.

1684. An Almanack for 1684.

1684. Dennison's [Daniel] *Irenicon*; or a Salve for New England's Sore. 8vo. 50 pages.

1685. The New England Almanack for 1686. "Printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, sen. Printer to Harvard Col. A. D. 1685."

1685. The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated into the Indian Language, and ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, &c. This was a second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible; and, like the first, it had marginal notes, and an Indian translation of the Newengland Version of the Psalms. The rev. mr. Cotton, a great proficient in the Indian language, assisted mr. Eliot in revising and correcting this edition. Both editions had title pages in English and Indian. The title in the Indian language, is as follows, Mamusse Wunneetupanatanamwe Up-Biblum God naneeswe Nukkone-Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament. Nequoshinnumuk nashpe Wutinneumak Christ noh asoowesit John Eliot. Nahotioeu onteheto Printewoomuk. Cambridge: Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green. 4to. It was six years in the press. Two thousand copies were printed.\* It was not so expensive as the first edition. Mr. Eliot had the management of it; and, in his letters to the hon. Robert Boyle, president of the corporation for propagating the gospel among the Indians in Newengland, he acknowledges the reception of 900l. sterling, in three payments, for carrying it through the press.

1685. Manitowampae pomantamoonk samploshanau Christianoh. 12mo.

1686. The New England Almanack for 1686.

1687. Practice of Piety. [Translated into the Indian language.] Third edition.

\* Letter from the rev. John Eliot to the hon. Robert Boyle in London. Mr. Eliot gave a part of his salary toward printing the work. It went to the press in the beginning of the year 1680, and was not completed till the beginning of 1686. Mr. Eliot lived till 1690.

1687. Eliot's Catechism. [In the Indian language. This was a third or fourth edition printed at the expense of the corporation.]

1687. Primer, in the Indian Language. [It had gone through several previous editions at the expense of the corporation.]

1689. Sampwutteahae Quinnuppekompauaenin, Wahuwômook oggussemesuog Sampwutteabae Wunnamptamwae-nuog, &c. Noh asoowesit Thomas Shephard. This is Shephard's Sincere Convert, translated into Indian by the rev. John Eliot, and was licensed to be printed by Grindal Rawson. 12mo. 164 pages.

1691. An Almanack. By John Tully. "Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green and B. Green, and are to be sold by Nicholas Buttolph at Gutteridge's Coffee House, in Boston, 1691."

1691. Nashauanittue Meninnunk wutch Mukkiesog Wassesemumun wutch Sogkodtunganash Naneeswe Testamentsash; wutch Ukkesitchippooonganoo Ukketeahogkou-nooh. Noh asoowèsit John Cotton. [This is John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for American Babies. Translated by Grindal Rawson.] 12mo. 14 pages. [See old editions of the New-England Primer.] Printeuoop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Bartholomew Green*.

1691. Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion; or the Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman. By Cotton Mather. 12mo. 114 pages. Re-Printed by Samuel Green and Bartholomew Green for Nicholas Buttolph, at Gutteridge's Coffee House, Boston.

1691. Things to be looked for. An Election Sermon. By Cotton Mather. 12mo. 84 pages. Reprinted by Samuel Green and Bartholomew Green.

1692. Tully's Almanack for 1692. Printed by Samuel Green and Bartholomew Green for Samuel Phillips of Boston.

## MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

JOHNSON was an Englishman; and had been bred to the printing business in London. The corporation in England, for propagating the gospel among the Indians, engaged, and sent him over to America, in 1660, to assist in printing the Bible in Indian.

In a letter dated, "Cooper's Hall in London, April 28th, 1660," and directed to the commissioners of the united colonies, who had the whole management of Indian affairs, the corporation writes, "Wee haue out of our desire to further a worke of soe great concernment, [printing the whole bible in the Indian language] agreed with an able printer for three yeares vpon the termes and conditions enclosed.—Wee desire you at the earnest request of Mr. Johnson, the printer and for his incouragement in this undertaking of printing the bible in the Indian language, his name may bee mentioned with others as a printer and person that hath bine instrumentall therin; for whose diet, lodging and washing wee desire you to take care of."

The commissioners in their answer to the corporation, dated "Newhauen the 10th of September, 1660," observe, "Such order is taken by the aduice of Mr. Eliott Mr. Vsher Mr. Green and Mr. Johnson that the Impression of the ould and New Testament shalbee carryed on together which they



have already begun and Resolue to prosecute with all diligence; a sheet of Geneses wee have seen which wee have ordered shalbee Transmitted vnto you; the printers doubt not but to print a sheete euery weeke and compute the whole to amount to a hundred and fifty sheets. Mr. Johnson wilbee gratified with the honour of the Impression and acomodated in other respects wee hope to content."

The commissioners this year, charged the corporation with 1 l. 4 s. paid for "the expenses of Johnson the printer att his first arrivall before he settled at Cambridge."

In a letter dated, "Boston Sept. 10th, 1662," and addressed to the hon. Robert Boyle, governor of the corporation in England, the commissioners of the united colonies observe, "The bible is now about halfe done; and constant progressé therein is made; the other halfe is like to bee finished in a yeare; the future charge is vncertain; wee have heer with sent twenty coppies of the New Testament [in Indian] to bee disposed of as your honors shall see meet. The trust your honors hath seen meet to repose in vs for the manageing of this worke we shall endeavor in all faithfulness to discharge. Wee craue leave att present for the preuenting of an objection that may arise concerning the particulars charged or the printing wherein you will find 2 sheets att three pounds ten shillings a sheet, and the rest butt att 50 shillings a sheet, the reason wherof lyes heer: It pleased the honored corporation to send ouer one Marmeduke Johnson a printer to attend the worke on condition as they will enforme you; whoe hath caryed heer very vnworthyly of which hee hath bine

openly Convicted and sencured in some of our Courts although as yett noe execution of sentence against him ; peculiere fauor haueing bine showed him with respect to the corporation that sent him ouer ; but notwithstanding all patience and lenitie vsed towards him hee hath proued uery idle and nought and absented himselfe from the worke more than halfe a yeare att one time ; for want of whose assistance the printer [Green] by his agreement with vs was to haue the allowance of 21 lb. the which is to bee defallcated out of his sallery in England by the honored Corporation there."

The commissioners, in this letter to the corporation, mentioned some bad conduct of Johnson, of which he was convicted, but they do not particularize his offence. I find in the records of the " county court," of Middlesex, for 1662, that, in April of that year, Johnson was indicted for " alluring the daughter of Samuel Green, printer, and drawing away her affection without the consent of her father ;" this was a direct breach of a law of the colony. Johnson was convicted, fined five pounds for that offence ; and, having a wife in England, was ordered " to go home to her," on penalty of twenty pounds for neglecting so to do. At the same court Johnson was fined twenty pounds, for threatening the life of any man who should pay his addresses to Green's daughter. In October 1663, Johnson, not having left the country, agreeably to his sentence, was fined twenty pounds, and ordered " to be committed till he gave security that he would depart home to England to his wife the first opportunity." Samuel Goffe and John Bernard were his sureties that he should

depart the country within six weeks, or in a vessel then bound to England. Johnson, however, for some cause that cannot be ascertained, [the records of the next county court being destroyed by fire] was permitted to remain in the country. His wife might have died; he had influential friends; and made his peace with Green, with whom he was afterwards concerned in printing several books.

The commissioners received an answer to the letter last mentioned from the governor of the corporation, dated "London April 9th, 1663," at the close of which the governor remarks, "Concerning Marmeduke Johnson the printer wee are sorry hee hath soe miscarried by which meanes the printing of the bible hath bin retarded we are resolved to default the 21 lb. you mention out of his sallary. Mr. Elliott whose letter beares date three monthes after youers, writes that Johnson is againe Returned in- to the worke whose brother alsoe hath bine with vs and gives vs great assurance of his brothers Reformation and following his busines diligently for the time to come; and hee being (as Mr. Elliott writes) an able and vsefull man in the presse we haue thought fitt further to make tryall of him for one yeare longer and the rather because vpon Mr. Elliotts motion and the goodnes of the worke; wee have thought fitt and ordered that the Psalmes of Dauid in meter shallbee printed in the Indian language, and soe wee hope that the said Johnson performing his promise of amendment for time to come may bee vsefull in the furthering of this worke which we soe-much desire the finishing of: We haue no more but commend you to the Lord. Signed in the name and by

the appointment of the Corporation for the propagating of the Gospell in America.

Per Robert Boyle Gouvernor."

The commissioners wrote from Boston, Sept. 18th 1663, to the corporation, as was their annual custom, rendering a particular account of their concerns, and of the expenditures of the money of the corporation. Respecting Johnson, they observe, "Some time after our last letter Marmaduke Johnson Returned to the Presse and hath carried himselfe Indifferently well since soe farr as wee know but the bible being finished and little other worke presenting; wee dismissed him att the end of the tearme you had contracted with him for; but vnderstanding your honorable Corporation hath agreed with him for another yeare; wee shall Indeavour to Employ him as wee can by printing the Psalmes and another little Treatise of Mr. Baxters which Mr. Elliott is translateing into the Indian language which is thought may bee vsefull and profitable to the Indians; and yett there will not bee full Employment for him; and for after times our owne printer wilbee sufficiently able to print of any other worke that wilbee nessesary for their vse soe that att the yeares end hee may be dismissed; or sooner if hee please: and If there bee occation further to Employ him It were much better to contract with him heer to print by the sheete than by allowing him standing wages: Wee were forced vpon his earnest Request to lett him five pounds in parte of his wages to supply his present nessesitie which must bee defaulted by your honors with his brother: his last yeare by agreement with him begineth the 20th of August last from the end

of his former contract till that time hee was out of this Imployment and followed his own occacions."

The corporation in their next letter to the commissioners write, "concerning Marmeduke Johnson the printer whose Demeanor hath not been suitable to what hee promised wee shall leave him to youerselues to dismisse him as soone as his yeare is expired if you soe think fit."

The next meeting of the Commissioners was at Hartford, September 1, 1664; they then informed the corporation in England, that they had "dismissed Marmeduke Johnson the Printer att the end of his tearme agreed for hauing Improued him as well as wee could for the yeare past by imploying him with our owne printer to print such Indian workes as could be prepared which hee was not able to doe alone with such other English Treatises which did present; for which allowance hath bine made proportionable to his laboure; some time hath bine lost for want of imployment but for after times wee hope to haue all books for the Indians vse printed vpon ezier tearmes by our owne printer especially if it please youer honers to send ouer a fonte of Pica letters Roman and Italian which are much wanting for printeing the practice of piety and other workes; and soe when the Presses shallbee Improued for the vse of the English wee shalbe carefull that due alowance be made to the Stocke for the same; It seemed Mr. Johnson ordered all his Sallery to be receiued and disposed of in England which hath put him to some straightes heer which forced vs to allow him five pounds formerly (as we Intimated in our last) and

since hee hath taken vp the sune of four pound all which is to be accounted as parte of his Sallery for the last yeare ; the remainder wherof wee doubt not your honors will satisfy there."

Before the Bible was finished, Johnson being in great want of money, applied to the commissioners of the United Colonies, to pay him his wages here instead of receiving them, agreeably to contract, in England. Upon which the commissioners "ordered in Answer to the request of Marmaduke Johnson for payment of his wages here in New England ; notwithstanding his covenant with the Corporation to receive the same in England which hee sayeth is detained from him ; which yett not appearing to the commissioners they could not give any order for the payment of it here ; but upon his earnest request that there might be some Impowered to relieve him in case it could appear before the next meeting of the Commissioners that noe payment was made to him in England the Commissioners of the Massachusetts Collonie is Impowered to act therein according to their Discretion."

The rev. mr. Eliot,\* who translated the Bible into the Indian language, appears to have been very friendly to Johnson. After he was dismissed from employment at the press of the corporation, mr. Eliot proposed to the commissioners in September, 1667, that Johnson should have "the font of letters [types] which the Corporation sent over for their use by him, when he came from England," and

\* Mr. Eliot was by some stiled "Apostolus nostrorum Temporum inter Indos Nov Angliæ." He died 1690, aged 86.

which had been but little worn, at the price they cost in England, which was 31 l. 17 s. 8 d. sterling; to which proposal the commissioners assented. These types he received in part payment of his salary.

In 1670, April 28th, Johnson being released by death or divorce, from his wife, in England, married Ruth Cane of Cambridge, which is recorded in the Register of the town for that year.

In September 1672, the commissioners ordered their agent, Hezekiah Usher, to pay Johnson 6 l. "for printing, stitching and cutting of a thousand Indian Logick Primers." This is the last business I can find performed by Johnson for the corporation.

Johnson's name appeared after Green's in the imprint of the first edition of the Indian translation of the Old and New Testament; and, to several other books which were not printed for the corporation for propagating the gospel among the Indians. It is not probable that they had any regular partnership, but printed a book, in connexion, when convenient.

I have seen no book with Johnson's name in the imprint after 1674.

He was "constable of Cambridge" in 1673, and perhaps some years preceding. In April, 1674, the county court allowed him "his bill of costs, amounting to three shillings; and ten shillings and six pence for journeys that were by law to be paid by the county treasurer." It appears that he was poor, and rather indolent. He died in 1675, and his wife departed this life soon after him.

The following is an extract from the Middlesex records.\* "At a County Court held at Charles-towne June 19, 1677.—Mr. John Hayward Attorney in behalfe of the Commissioners of the United Coloneys pl'ff against Jonathan Cane, Executor to the last will and testament of Ruth Johnson administratrix to the estate of her husband Marmaduke Johnson deceased, in an action of the case for deteyning a font of Letters, bought by the said Johnson with money y<sup>t</sup> he received for y<sup>e</sup> end and use of y<sup>e</sup> Honourable Corporation in London constituted by his Majestie for propagating of the gospell to the Indians in New England, and also for deteyning a Printers chase, and other implements that belong to a Printing Presse, and is apperteyning to the said Indian Stocke according to attachmt. dated 8, 4, 77. Both parties appeared & joyned issue in the case. The Jury having heard their respective pleas & evidences in the case, brought in their verdict, finding for the pl've that the Defdt. shall deliver the wt. of Letters expressed in the attachment, with other materials expressed in the attachment, or the value thereof in money, which wee find to be forty pounds, with costs of court. The Defdt. made his appeal to the next Court of Assistants."

Beside the books printed by Green and him, which appear in Green's catalogue, I find the following printed solely by Johnson, viz.

\* Vol. iii. p. 176.



*Catalogue of Books printed by JOHNSON.*

1665. *Communion of Churches; or, the Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in Order, according to the Scriptures. As also the Way of bringing all Christian Parishes to be particular reforming Congregational Churches: humbly proposed as a Way which hath so much light from the Scriptures of Truth, as that it may be lawfully submitted unto by all; and may by the Blessing of the Lord be a means of uniting those two Holy and eminent Parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists—As also to prepare for the hoped-for Resurrection of the Churches; and to propose a Way to bring all Christian Nations unto an Unity of the Faith and Order of the Gospel. Written by John Eliot, Teacher of Roxbury in N. E. Crown 8vo. 38 pages. The following is the Preface to the work.*

“ Although a few copies of this small script are printed, yet it is not published, only committed privately to some godly and able hands to be viewed, corrected, amended, or rejected, as it shall be found to hold weight in the sanctuary ballance, or not. And it is the humble request of the Author, that whatever objections, rectifications or emendations may occur, they may be conveyed unto him; who desireth nothing may be accepted in the Churches, but what is according to the will and minde of God, and tendeth to holiness, peace, and promotion of the holy kingdome of Jesus Christ. The procuring of half so many copies written and corrected, would be more difficult and chargeable than the printing of these few. I beg the prayers as well as the pains of the precious Servants of the Lord, that I may never have the least finger in doing any thing that may be derogatory to the holiness and honour of Jesus Christ and his churches. And to this I subscribe myself, one of the least of the labourers in the Lord’s vineyard.

JOHN ELIOT.”

1668. *The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists: or the Re-Baptised of our Times. 58 pages. Quarto.*

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1668. *God's Terrible Voice in the City of London, wherein you have the Narration of the late dreadful Judgment of Plague and Fire; the former in the year 1665 and the latter in the year 1666.* 32 pages. Quarto.

1668. *The Righteous Man's Evidence of Heaven.* By Timothy Rogers. Small Quarto.

1671. *Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline.* Second Edition. 40 pages. Quarto.

1672. "Indian Logick Primer."

1673. *Wakeman's Young Man's Legacy to the Rising Generation.* A Sermon, preached on the Death of John Tappin, of Boston. 46 pages. Quarto.

1673. *Mather's [Increase] Woe to Drunkards.* Two Sermons. 34 pages. Quarto. [Printed by Johnson] "and sold by Edmund Ranger, Book Binder, in Boston."

1674. *Exhortation unto Reformation.* An Election Sermon. By Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth. 50 pages. Quarto.

1674. *Cry of Sodom enquired into, upon occasion of the Arraignment and Condemnation of Benjamin Goad, for his prodigious Villany.* By S. D. Quarto. 30 pages.

## BARTHOLOMEW GREEN.

SON of Samuel Green, by his second wife, was in business a few years with his father at Cambridge. In the year 1690, he removed to Boston, and set up his press. The same year his printing house and materials were destroyed by fire, and he, in consequence of his loss, returned to Cambridge, and was again connected with his father. The few books which I have seen, that were printed by his father and him in company, are taken notice of with his father's. He resumed business, in Boston, in 1692. [*See printers in Boston.*]

*BOSTON.*

ABOUT forty five years from the beginning of the settlement of Boston, a printing house was opened, and the first book I have found printed, in this town, was by

JOHN FOSTER.

*[Conductor of the Press.]*

FOSTER was born in Dorchester, near Boston, and educated at Harvard college, where he graduated in 1667.

Printers at this time were considered as mere agents to execute the typographic art ; the presses were the property of the college, but all their productions were under the control of licensers appointed by the government of the colony ; that government had restricted printing, and confined it solely to Cambridge, but it now authorized Foster to set up a press in Boston. It does not appear that he was bred to printing, or that he was acquainted with the art ; the probability is, that he was not ; but having obtained permission to print, he employed workmen, carried on printing in his own name, and was accountable to government for the productions of his press.

The general court, at the session in May, 1674, passed the order following—"Whereas there is now granted that there may be a printing Presse elsewhere than at Cambridge; for the better regulation of the Presse it is ordered and Enacted that the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thatcher and Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston, be added unto the former Licensers, and they are hereby impowered to act accordingly."

If Foster's printing equalled, it could not be said to excel, that of Green or Johnson, either in neatness or correctness. He printed a number of small tracts for himself and others. The earliest book which I have seen from the press under his care, was published in 1676, and the latest in 1680. He calculated and published Almanacks. To his Almanack for 1681, he annexed an ingenious dissertation on comets, seen at Boston in November and December 1680.\*

He died at Dorchester, September 9, 1681, aged thirty three years. His grave stone bears the following inscription, viz.

"Astra colis vivens, moriens super æthera Foster  
Scande precor, cœlum metiri disce supremum;  
Metior atque meum est, emit mihi dives Jesus,  
Nec tenior quicquam nisi grates solve."

In English thus,  
Thou, O Foster, who on earth didst study the  
heavenly bodies, now ascend above the firmament

\* See Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 9.—Chronological and topographical account of Dorchester, written by the rev. T. M. Harris.

and survey the highest heaven. I do survey and inhabit this divine region. To its possession I am admitted through the grace of Jesus; and to pay the debt of gratitude I hold the most sacred obligation.\*

Two poems on the death of Foster were printed in 1681; one of them was written by Thomas Tilestone, of Dorchester, and the other by Joseph Capen, afterwards minister of Topsfield, Massachusetts. The latter concluded with the following lines.

“Thy body, which no activeness did lack,  
Now's laid aside like an old Almanack;  
But for the present only's out of date,  
’Twill have at length a far more active state.  
Yea, though with dust thy body soiled be,  
Yet at the resurrection we shall see  
A fair EDITION, and of matchless worth,  
Free from ERRATAS, new in Heaven set forth;  
’Tis but a word from GOD, the great Creator,  
It shall be done when he saith *Imprimatur*.”

Whoever has read the celebrated epitaph, by Franklin, on himself, will have some suspicion that it was taken from this *original*.

\* Version. By a friend.

Foster, while living, starry orbs explor'd;  
Dying, beyond their radiant sphere he soar'd;  
And, still admiring the Creator's plan,  
Learns the wide scope of highest heaven to scan.  
Me, too, may Christ, by his rich grace, prepare  
To follow, and be reunited there!

## SAMUEL SEWALL.

*[Conductor of the Press.]*

WHEN Foster died, Boston was without the benefit of the press ; but, a continuance of it in this place being thought necessary, Samuel Sewall, not a printer, but a magistrate, &c. a man much respected, was selected as a proper person to manage the concerns of it, and, as such, was recommended to the general court. In consequence of this recommendation the court, in October, 1681, gave him liberty to carry on the business of printing in Boston. The license is thus recorded.\*

“Samuel Sewall, at the Instance of some Friends, with respect to the accommodation of the Publick, being prevailed with to undertake the Management of the Printing Presse in Boston, late under the command of Mr. John Foster, deceased, liberty is accordingly granted to him for the same by this court, and none may presume to set up any other Presse without the like Liberty first granted.”

Sewall became a bookseller. Books for himself and others were printed at the press under his management ; as were several acts and laws, with other work for government. Samuel Green, jun. was his printer. In 1682, an order passed the general court

\* Records of the Colony for 1681.

for the treasurer to pay Sewall ten pounds seventeen shillings, for printing the election sermon, delivered that year by the rev. mr. Torrey. I have seen several books printed by the assignment of Sewall.

In 1684, Sewall, by some means, was unable to conduct the press, and requested permission, of the general court, to be released from his engagement ; this was granted ; the record of his release is in the words following.

“ Samuel Sewall, by the providence of God, being unable to attend the press, &c. requested leave to be freed from his obligations concerning it, which was granted, with thanks for the liberty then granted.”

In 1684, and for several subsequent years, the loss of the charter occasioned great confusion and disorder in the political concerns of the colony. Soon after Sewall resigned his office as conductor of the press in Boston, he went to England ; whence he returned in 1692. He was, undoubtedly, the same Samuel Sewall, who, when a new charter was granted by king William, was for many years one of the council for the province ; and who, in 1692, was appointed one of the judges of the superior court ; in 1715, judge of probate ; and, in 1718, chief justice of Massachusetts. He died January 1, 1729-30, aged seventy eight years.

## JAMES GLEN,

PRINTED for, or by the assignment of Samuel Sewall, to whom government had committed the management of the press after the death of Foster. He printed under Sewall less than two years. I have seen only three or four works which bear his name in the imprint, and these were printed for Sewall. One was entitled, "Covenant Keeping, the Way to Blessedness. By Samuel Willard." 12mo. 240 pages. "Boston: Printed by James Glen, for S. Sewall, 1682." I do not recollect the titles of the others, which were pamphlets.

All the printing done by Glen was at Sewall's press.

SAMUEL GREEN, *Junior*.

WAS the son, by his first wife, of Samuel Green, who at that time printed at Cambridge. He was taught the art in the printing house of his father. His books bear the next earliest dates to Foster's and Glen's. In 1682, he printed at the press which, by order of the general court, was under the management of Sewall; and, for some time, by virtue of an assignment from Sewall. He worked chiefly for booksellers; many books printed for them are with-



out the name of the printer, and some without date.\* After Sewall ceased to conduct the press, Green was permitted to continue printing, subject to the control of the licensers.

John Dunton, a London bookseller, who visited Boston while Green was in business, in 1686, and, after his return to England, published the history of his own "Life and Errors," mentions Green in his publication in the following manner.

"I contracted a great friendship for this man; to name his trade, will convince the world he was a man of good sense and understanding; he was so facetious and obliging in his conversation, that I took a great delight in his company, and made use of his house to while away my melancholy hours."†

Dunton gives biographical sketches of a number of men and women whom he visited in Boston in 1686; and, represents Green's wife as a most excellent woman, even as a model, from which to draw "*the picture of the best of wives.*"‡ [n]

Green printed for government, and soon after his death, the general court ordered the treasurer to

\* Printers should insert in their imprints to books, newspapers, &c. not only their names, but the year, and mention both the state and town where their presses are established. Many towns in the United States bear the same name. Some newspapers, and many books, have lately been published in certain towns; and the state not being designated in the imprints, in many instances it cannot be determined, especially by those at a distance, in which of the states they were printed.

† Dunton's Life and Errors. Printed at London, 1703. P. 129.

‡ Her maiden name was Elizabeth Sill. She was born in Cambridge.

pay his heirs £22 17, "due him for his last printing."

In 1690, Boston was visited with the small pox ; before the practice of inoculation was introduced, this disease, at every visitation, swept off a large number of inhabitants. In July, of that year, Green fell a victim to that loathsome disease ; he died after an illness of three days ; and, his amiable wife, within a few days after her husband,\* was carried off by the same epidemic.

### RICHARD PIERCE.

ON an examination of the books printed in Boston before the year 1700, it appears that Richard Pierce was the fifth person who carried on the printing business in that place. Whether he had been bred a printer in England, or had served an apprenticeship with Green, at our Cambridge, can-

\* I am favored by Rosseter Cotton, esq. of Plymouth, with an original letter, dated at "Plymouth, Aug. 5, 1690," to his great grandfather, the rev. John Cotton, then on a visit to Barnstable, from his son, which mentions, among other articles of information from Boston, "the small pox is as bad as ever ; Printer Green died of it in Three days, his wife also is dead with it." This letter contains much news of the day ; it states that, "on saturday Evening about fourteen houses, besides warehouses and Brue houses, were burnt at Boston, from the Mill Bridgh down half way to the Draw Bridgh." By this it should seem, that at that time, there was a street along side of the Mill Creek.

not be determined. There was a printer, in London, by the name of Richard Pierce, in 1679; and, it is not improbable, that he emigrated to this country, and set up his press in Boston. I have seen some books printed by him on his own account, and a number for booksellers; they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Books printed in America before the revolution. I have not found any thing printed by him before 1684, or after 1690.

### BARTHOLOMEW GREEN.

B. GREEN has been mentioned as a printer at Cambridge, in connexion with his father. He began business at Boston in 1690, immediately after the death of his brother, with the best printing apparatus then in the country. He was married the same year; and, soon after, his printing house was consumed, and his press and types entirely destroyed by a fire, which began in his neighborhood. This misfortune obliged him to return to Cambridge, and he continued there two years, doing business in company with his father. Being again furnished with a press and types, he reestablished himself in Boston; and, opened a printing house in Newbury street. The imprint to several of the first books from his press, is, "Boston: Printed by B. Green, at the *South End* of the Town."

In April, 1704, he began the publication of a newspaper, entitled "*The Boston News-Letter*."

Published by Authority," It was printed weekly, on Mondays, for John Campbell, postmaster, who was the proprietor. After the News-Letter had been printed eighteen years for Campbell, Green published it on his own account,

This newspaper was the first printed in the British colonies of North America; and, had been published fifteen years, before any other work of the kind made its appearance. It was continued by Green, and his successors, until the year 1776, when the British troops evacuated Boston. [o]

After his father's death, Bartholomew Green printed for the college; and he was, for nearly forty years, printer to the governor and council of Massachusetts. He was the most distinguished printer of that period, in this country; and did more business than any other of the profession; but, he worked chiefly for the booksellers.\*

John Allen was concerned with Green in printing many books, in the imprints of which both their names appeared; there was not, however, a regular partnership between them.†

Through the whole course of his life, Green was distinguished for piety and benevolence; he was highly respected; and, for many years, held

\* Although Green was printer to the governor and council; yet, the acts and laws printed by him were done for a bookseller, Benjamin Elliot, from 1703 to 1729, as appears from the imprints.

† The books printed by him, and by him and Allen, will appear in a Catalogue of Books printed in America before the Revolution, now preparing for the press.

the office of a deacon in the Old South church in Boston. He died December 28, 1732.

The following character of him is extracted from The Boston News-Letter, of January 4, 1733.

“ Bartholomew Green was a person generally known and esteemed among us, as a very humble and exemplary christian, one who had much of that primitive christianity in him which has always been the distinguishing glory of New-England. We may further remember his eminency for a strict observing the Sabbath; his household piety; his keeping close and diligent to the work of his calling; his meek and peaceable spirit; his caution of publishing any thing offensive, light or hurtful; and his tender sympathy to the poor and afflicted. He always spoke of the wonderful spirit of piety that prevailed in the land in his youth, with a singular pleasure.” [See *History of Newspapers in the second volume of this work.*]

## JOHN ALLEN.

I HAVE not seen any book with his name in the imprint, published earlier than the year 1690. He printed, sometimes in connexion with Bartholomew Green, and sometimes with Benjamin Harris; but was not in regular partnership with either. There is no evidence that he had printing materials of his own until 1707; at this time he opened a printing house in Pudding lane, near the postoffice, and did business on his own account. In November, of

this year, he began printing *The Boston News-Letter*, for the proprietor, mr. Campbell, postmaster. Soon after this event he published the following advertisement, viz.

“These are to give Notice, that there lately came from London a Printing Press, with all sorts of good new Letter, which is now set up in Pudding Lane near the Post-Office in Boston for publick use: Where all persons that have any thing to print may be served on reasonable terms.”

Allen printed *The News-Letter* four years; when a fire, which consumed most of the buildings in Cornhill, and many in King street, Queen street, and the contiguous lanes, is supposed to have burnt his printing house. The fire broke out on the evening of the 2d of October, 1711. [p] On the preceding day he had printed *The News-Letter*; but, on the next week, that paper was again printed by Green; or, as the imprint runs, “Printed in Newbury-Street, for John Campbell, Post-Master.” I have seen a number of books, printed after this time, by Allen alone, the last of which is *Whittemore’s Almanack*, bearing the date of 1724.

While he was connected with Green, and previous to 1708, the acts, laws, proclamations, &c. of government, were printed by them, and Allen’s name appeared with Green’s as “Printers to the Governour and Council.” Allen printed no book, that I have seen, on his own account; all the business he executed, in the line of his profession, was for booksellers. He was from England. There is in an ancient library in Boston, a copy of Increase

Mather's *Mystery of Israel's Libation*, printed in London, by John Allen, in 1669. It is supposed that he came to Boston by encouragement from the Mathers.

## BENJAMIN HARRIS.

HIS printing house was, "over against the Old Meeting House in Cornhill."\* He removed several times; and, once printed "at the London Coffee-House," which I believe he kept, in King's street; at another time in Cornhill, "over against the Blew Anchor." The last place of his residence I find mentioned, was in Cornhill, "at the Sign of the Bible."

He printed, principally, for booksellers; but he did some work on his own account. He kept a shop, and sold books. I have not met with any book of his printing earlier than 1690, nor later than 1694. In 1692 and 1693, he printed *The Acts and Laws of Massachusetts*—they contained about one hundred and thirty pages, folio, to which the charter was prefixed. The imprint is, "Boston: Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to his Excellency the Governour and Council." His commission from governor Phips, to print them, is pub-

\* This church was burnt down in the great fire of 1711; but was soon rebuilt, on a new site, a number of rods to the south of the spot where the old building stood, and was, for many years, known by the name of "the Old Brick;" which, in 1808, was taken down, a new church having been erected for the society in Summer street.

lished opposite to the title page of the volume in the words following.

"By his Excellency.—I order Benjamin Harris to print the Acts and Laws made by the Great and General Court, or Assembly of Their Majesties Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, that so the people may be informed thereof.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

"*Boston, December 16, 1692.*"

In the title page of the laws, printed by him in 1693, is a handsome cut of their majesties' arms. This was in the reign of William and Mary.

Harris was from London; he returned there about the year 1694. Before and after his emigration to America, he owned a considerable bookstore in that city. John Dunton's account of him is thus.

"He had been a brisk asserter of English Liberties, and once printed a Book with that very title. He sold a protestant Petition in King Charles's Reign, for which he was fined five Pounds; and he was once set in the Pillory, but his wife (like a kind Rib) stood by him to defend her Husband against the Mob. After this (having a deal of Mercury in his natural temper) he travelled to New-England, where he followed Bookselling, and then Coffee-selling, and then Printing, but continued Ben. Harris still, and is now both Bookseller and Printer in Grace Church Street, as we find by his *London Post*; so that his Conversation is general (but never impertinent), and his Wit pliable to all inventions. But yet his Vanity, if he has any, gives no alloy to his Wit, and is no more than might justly spring



from conscious virtue ; and I do him but justice in this part of his Character, for in once travelling with him from Bury-Fair, I found him to be the most ingenious and innocent Companion, that I had ever met with.”\*

## TIMOTHY GREEN.

WAS the son of Samuel Green, junior, of Boston, and grandson of Samuel Green of Cambridge.

The earliest books, which I have met with of his printing, bear date in 1700. He had a printing house at the north part of the town, in Middle street, near Cross street. He printed and sold some books on his own account ; but, as was customary, printed principally for booksellers. The imprint to some of his books is, “Boston: Printed by Timothy Green, at the *North Part of the Town.*” I have seen other books printed at the same time by his uncle Bartholomew, with this imprint, “Boston: Printed by B. Green, at the *South Part of the*

\* Dunton’s *Life and Errors*, printed in London, 1705. Dunton was an English bookseller, who had been in Boston ; he was bred to this business by Thomas Parkhurst, who published Mather’s *Magnalia*, and other books for Newengland ministers. Dunton had a knowledge of the booksellers in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and Newengland ; and published a sketch of their characters. [*See Booksellers, Boston.*]

*Town.*” Although several printers had succeeded each other, there had never been more than two printing houses open at the same time in Boston ; and, at this period, it does not appear that the number was encreased.

T. Green continued in business, at Boston, until 1714. He then received encouragement from the general assembly of Connecticut, and removed his press to Newlondon. [*See printers in Connecticut.*]

### JAMES PRINTER, alias JAMES THE PRINTER.

THIS man was an Indian native ; born at an Indian town called Hossanamesitt,\* now the town of Grafton, in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts. His father was a deacon of the church of Indian Christians established in that place. James had two brothers ; the one, named Anaweakin, was their ruler ; the other, named Tarkuppawillin, was their teacher ; they were all esteemed on account of their piety, and considered as the principal persons of that Indian village.†

James, when a child, was taught at the Indian charity school, at Cambridge, to read and write the English language, where, probably, he received the Christian name of James.

\* Signifying a place of small stones.

† Major Daniel Gookin’s account of the Indians in New-england.

In 1659, he was put apprentice to Samuel Green, printer, in that place, which gave him the surname of *Printer*. Green instructed him in the art of Printing; and, whilst his apprentice, employed him as a pressman, &c. in printing the first edition of the Indian Bible.

A war taking place between James's countrymen and the white people, James, fired with a spark of the *amor patriæ*, left his master secretly, and joined his brethren in arms. A number of skirmishes were fought, in all which the Indians were repulsed with loss; they, in consequence, became disheartened; and, the associated tribes separated, and retired to their respective places of residence; at which time, 1676, the government of Massachusetts issued a proclamation, or, as Hubbard, in his Narrative of the Indian Wars, terms it, "Put forth a *Declaration*, that whatsoever Indians should within fourteen days next ensuing, come in to the English, might hope for *mercy*. Amongst sundry who came in, there was one named *James* the *Printer*, the *superadded Title* distinguishing him from others of that name, who being a *notorious Apostate*, that had learned so much of the English, as not only to read and write, but had attained some skill in printing, and might have attained more, had he not like a *false villain* run away from his *Master* before his time was out; he having seen and read the said *Declaration* of the *English*, did venture himself upon the Truth thereof, and came to sue for his life; he affirmed with others that came along with him, that more Indians had died since the *War* began of diseases (such as at other times they used

not to be acquainted withal) than by the sword of the English.”\*

In this war, the Narraganset Indians lost their celebrated chief, king Philip, of Mount Hope; after which the colony enjoyed great tranquillity.

James, it is supposed, remained in and near Boston, till 1680; and, doubtless, worked at the printing business, either with his former master, at Cambridge, or with Foster, who had lately set up a press, the first established in Boston, and must have well known James, who lived with Green when Foster was at college.

In 1680, he was engaged with Green at Cambridge in printing the second edition of the Indian Bible. The rev. John Eliot, in a letter to the hon. Robert Boyle at London, dated March, 1682-3, observes respecting this second edition, “I desire to see it done before I die, and I am so deep in years, that I cannot expect to live long; besides, we have but one man, viz. the Indian Printer, that is able to compose the Sheets, and correct the Press with understanding.”

In another letter, dated “Roxbury, April 22, 1684,” to the hon. mr. Boyle, from the reverend mr. Eliot, he mentions, “We present your honours with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech that it may be acceptable till the whole Bible is finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honours

\* Hubbard’s Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England, &c. 4to. edition; “printed by Authority,” at Boston, 1677, p. 96.

command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness the last year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands (at printing) one Englishman, and a boy, and one *Indian* ;\* and many interruptions and diversions do befall us, and we could do but little this very hard winter."

We hear no more of James until 1709, when an edition of the Psalter, in the Indian and English languages, made its appearance with the following imprint.—"Boston, N. E. Printed by *B. Green* and *J. Printer*, for the Honourable Company for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England."—In Indian thus, *Upprinthomunneau B. Green, kah J. Printer, wutche quhiantamwe Chapanukkeg wutche onchektouunnat wunnaunch-ummookaonk ut New-England.* 1709.†

Some of James's descendants were not long since living in Grafton; they bore the surname of *Printer*.

\* Undoubtedly *J. Printer*.

† Bartholomew Green was the son of James's former master; James was well known among all the neighboring tribes; and, one motive for employing him in printing this Psalter, might have been, to excite the greater attention among the Indians, and give it a wider circulation; beside, his knowledge of both languages, enabled him to expedite the work with more facility and correctness than any other person.

Several books were, about this time, translated into the Indian language, and printed, which might have afforded employment to James; but I have seen only the Psalter with his name as the printer.

## THOMAS FLEET.

WAS born in England and there bred to the Printing business. When young he took an active part in opposition to the high church party. On some publick procession, probably that of dr. Sacheverel, when many of the zealous members of the high church decorated their doors and windows with garlands, as the heads of their party passed in the streets, Fleet is said to have hung out of his window an ensign of contempt, which inflamed the resentment of his opponents to that degree, that he was obliged to secrete himself from their rage, and to embrace the first opportunity to quit his country.

He arrived at Boston about the year 1712, and soon opened a printing house in Pudding Lane, now Devonshire Street. The earliest book I have seen of his printing, bears date 1713. He was a good workman ; was a book printer, and he and T. Crump were concerned in printing some books together.

But the principal performances of Fleet, until he began the publication of a news paper, consisted of pamphlets, for booksellers, small books for children and ballads. He made a profit on the latter, which was sufficient to support his family reputation. He owned several negroes, one of which worked at the printing business, both at the press and at setting types ; he was an ingenious man, and cut, on wooden blocks, all the pictures which deco-

rated the ballads and small books of his master. Fleet had also two negro boys born in his house ; sons, I believe, to the man just mentioned, whom he brought up to work at press and case ; one named Pompey and the other Cesar ; they were young when their master died ; but, they remained in the family and continued to labor regularly in the printing house with the sons of mr. Fleet, who succeeded their father, until the constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, made them freemen.

Fleet continued printing, in Pudding Lane, till early in 1731, he then hired a handsome house in Cornhill, on the north corner of Water street, which he afterward purchased ; and occupied it through the residue of his life. He erected a sign of the Heart and Crown, which he never altered ; but after his death, when crowns became unpopular, his sons changed the Crown for a Bible, and let the Heart remain. Fleet's new house was spacious and contained sufficient room, for the accommodation of his family, and the prosecution of his printing business, beside a convenient shop, and a good chamber for an auction room. He held his vendues in the evening, and sold books, household goods, &c. as appears by the following advertisement which he inserted in the Boston Weekly News-Letter, March 7th, 1731.

“ This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Merchants, Shopkeepers and others, that *Thomas Fleet* of Boston, Printer, (who formerly kept his Printing House in Pudding Lane but is now removed into Cornhill at the sign of the *Heart & Crown*, near the lower end of School Street,) is

willing to undertake the Sale of Books, Household Goods, Wearing Apparel, or any other Merchandize, by Vendue, or Auction. The said Fleet having a large & commodious Front Chamber fit for *this Business*, and a Talent well known and approved, doubts not of giving entire Satisfaction to such as may employ him in it; he hereby engaging to make it appear that this Service may be performed with more Convenience and less Charge at a private House well situated, than at a Tavern. And, for further Encouragement, said Fleet promises to make up Accompts with the Owners of the Goods Sold by him, in a few Days after the sale thereof.”

In September 1731, a new periodical paper was published in Boston, entitled, “The Weekly Rehearsal;” intended, principally, to contain Essays, Moral, Political and Commercial.\* John Draper was first employed to print the Rehearsal for the editor, but soon relinquished it, and Fleet succeeded him as the printer of it; and, in April, 1733, he published the Rehearsal on his own account. It was then, and had, in fact, from the beginning, been no more than a weekly newspaper; but, while in the management of Fleet, it was the best paper at that time published in Newengland. In August, 1735, Fleet changed The Weekly Rehearsal into The Boston Evening Post. The last number of the Rehearsal was 201, and the first number of the Evening Post, was 202, which shews that the Evening Post was then intended to be a continuation of the

\* See Rehearsal, in the History of Newspapers in this work.



Rehearsal ; but the next Boston Evening Post was numbered 2, and became a new hebdomadal paper, which was published every Monday evening.

Fleet was industrious and economical ; free from superstition ; and, possessed a fund of wit and humor, which were often displayed in his paragraphs and advertisements. The members of Fleet's family, although they were very worthy, good people, were not, all of them, remarkable for the pleasantness of their countenances ; on which account he would, sometimes, indulge himself in jokes which were rather coarse, at their expense. He once invited an intimate friend to dine with him on *Pouts* ; a kind of fish of which the gentleman was remarkably fond. When dinner appeared, the guest remarked that the pouts were wanting. " O no," said Fleet, " only look at my wife and daughters."

The following is an advertisement of Fleet, for the sale of a negro woman—it is short and pithy, viz.—" To be sold by the Printer of this paper, the very best Negro Woman in this Town, who has had the small pox and the measles ; is as hearty as a Horse, as brisk as a Bird, and will work like a Beaver. *Aug. 23, 1742.*"

In number 50 of The Boston Evening Post, Fleet published the following paragraph, under the Boston head.—" We have lately received from an intelligent and worthy Friend in a neighboring Government, to the Southward of us, the following remarkable Piece of News, which we beg our Readers Patience to hear, viz. That the printer there gets a great deal of Money, has *Twenty Shillings* for every Advertisement published in his News-Pa-

per, calls *Us* Fools for working for nothing, and has lately purchased an Estate of *Fourteen Hundred Pounds* Value.\* We should be heartily glad (had we Cause for it) to return our Friend a like surprising Account of the Printers Prosperity here. But alas! the reverse of our Brother's Circumstances seems hereditary to *Us*: It is well known we are the most humble, self-denying Set of Mortals (we wish we could say Men) breathing; for where there is a Penny to be got, we readily resign it up to those who are no Ways related to the Business, nor have any Pretence or Claim to the Advantages of it.† And whoever has observ'd our Conduct hitherto, has Reason enough to think, that we hold it a mortal Crime to make any other Use of our Brains and Hands, than barely to help us

“To purchase homely Fare, and fresh small Beer  
(Hard Fate indeed, we can't have better Cheer!)  
And buy a new Blue Apron once a year.‡

“But as we propose in a short Time to publish a Dissertation upon the *mean* and *humble* state of the Printers of this Town, we shall say no more at pres-

\* This friend, it is supposed, was James Franklin, nephew to dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was established in Rhodeisland; and, at that time, the paper currency of that colony was greatly depreciated.

† Two or three of the Boston newspapers were then printed for postmasters, or past postmasters; and printing in general was done for booksellers. Master printers had but little more profit on their labor than journeymen.

‡ It was usual then, and for many years after, for printers, when at work, to wear blue or green cloth aprons; and it would have been well if this practice had not been laid aside.

ent upon this important Subject, and humbly ask Pardon for so large a Digression. Only we would inform, that in this most necessary Work, we are promised the Assistance of a worthy Friend and able Casuist, who says he doubts not but that he shall easily make it appear, even to the Satisfaction of the Printers themselves, that they may be as good Christians,\* as useful Neighbors, and as loyal Subjects, altho' they should sometimes feed upon *Beef* and *Pudding*, as they have hitherto approved themselves by their most rigid abstemious way of living."

In February 1744, a comet made its appearance and excited much alarm. Fleet on this occasion published the following remarks.

"The Comet now rises about five o'Clock in the Morning, and appears very large and bright, and of late it has been seen (with its lucid Train) in the Day-Time, notwithstanding the Luster of the Sun. This uncommon Appearance gives much Uneasiness to timorous People, especially *Women*, who will needs have it, that it portends some dreadful Judgments to this our Land: And if, from the Apprehension of deserved Judgments, we should be induced to abate of our present Pride and Extravagance, &c. and should become more humble, peaceable and charitable, honest and just, industrious and frugal, there will be Reason to think, that the *Comet* is the most profitable Itinerant Preacher† and

\* Most of the printers in Boston, at that time, were members of the Church; to which circumstance Fleet, probably, alluded.

† Preachers of this Class, who with their adherents were vulgarly called *New Lights*, were then frequent in and about Boston.

friendly *New Light* that has yet appeared among us." [Even. Post. No. 446.]

Fleet had often occasion to complain of the delinquency of his customers in making payment for *The Evening Post*; and, in reminding them of their deficiency, he sometimes indulged himself in severity of remark, that men of great religious professions and service, should neglect to pay him his just demands. One of his dunning advertisements is as follows,

"It will be happy for many People, if Injustice, Extortion and Oppression are found not to be Crimes *at the last*; which seems now by their Practice to be their settled Opinion: And it would be well for the Publisher of this Paper, if a great many of his Customers were not of the same Sentiments. Every one, almost, thinks he has a Right to read News; but few find themselves inclin'd to pay for it. 'Tis great pity a Soil that will bear *Piety* so well, should not produce a tolerable Crop of Common Honesty." [Even. Post. No. 690. Oct. 1748.]

The preceding extracts from *The Evening Post*, are sufficient to enable our readers to form some acquaintance with the publisher of that paper; and, when they consider the time when the extracts were published, they will be the more pleased with his independence of character.

Fleet published *The Evening Post* until his death; and his sons continued it till the memorable battle at Lexington, in 1775, the commencement of the revolutionary war, when its publication ceased. He was printer to the house of representatives in

1729, 1730 and 1731. He died in July 1758, aged seventy three years; was possessed of a handsome property, and left a widow, three sons and two daughters. One of the sons, and the two daughters were never married.

## T. CRUMP.

THE first book I have seen with Crump's name in it, was printed in 1716, by T. Fleet and him. Fleet and Crump printed several books together, but never, I believe, formed a regular partnership. It seems to have been the custom with master printers in Boston, at that time, when their business was on a very small scale, instead of hiring those who had served a regular apprenticeship to the trade, as journeymen, to admit them as temporary partners in work, and to draw a proportion of the profit. For example—two printers agreed to a joint agency in printing a book, and their names appeared in the imprint; if one of them was destitute of types, he allowed the other for the use of his printing materials, the service of apprentices, &c. and when the book came from the press, the bookseller [most books were then printed for booksellers] paid each of the printers the sum due for his proportion of the work; and the connexion ceased until a contract was formed for a new job. This method accounts for facts of which many have taken notice, viz. books appear to have been printed the same year by

T. Fleet and T. Crump, and by T. Fleet separately ; and so of others.—This was the case with Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, at Cambridge. Their names appear together in the imprint of a book, and in the same year the name of S. Green appears alone. The same thing took place with Bartholomew Green and John Allen, and with Benjamin Harris and John Allen. Allen's name often appeared with Green's, and sometimes with Harris's ; but still oftener the names of Green and Harris appear alone in the books issued from their respective printing houses. I can recollect that, when a lad, I knew several instances of this kind of partnership.

Crump, after his connexion with Fleet, printed some books, in which his name only appears in the imprints. He did but little business. I have not seen any thing printed by him after the year 1718.

### SAMUEL KNEELAND.

BEGAN business about the year 1718. His printing house was in Prison lane,\* the corner of Dorset's alley. This building was occupied for eighty years as a printing house by Kneeland and those who succeeded him ; but it is now filled with offices occupied by gentlemen of the law.

He was born in Boston, and served an apprenticeship with Bartholomew Green. He had res-

\* Now Court Street.

pectable friends, who, soon after he became of age, furnished him with means to procure printing materials.

Kneeland was a good workman, industrious in his business, and punctual to his engagements. Many books issued from his press for himself and for booksellers, before and during his partnership with Timothy Green, the second printer of that name.

William Brooker, being appointed postmaster at Boston, he, on Monday, December 21st, 1719, began the publication of another newspaper in that place. This was the second published in the British colonies, in North America, and was entitled "The Boston Gazette." James Franklin was originally employed as the printer of this paper; but, in two or three months after the publication commenced, Philip Musgrave was appointed postmaster, and became the proprietor of it. He took the printing of it from Franklin, and gave it to Kneeland.

In 1727, a new postmaster became proprietor of the Gazette, and the printer of it was again changed. Soon after this event, in the same year, Kneeland commenced the publication of a fourth newspaper,\* entitled, "The New-England Journal." This was the second newspaper in Newengland published by a printer on his own account. In four months after the establishment of this paper, Kneeland form-

\* The New-England Courant had been printed several years before, but at this time was discontinued.

ed a partnership with Green already mentioned, son of that Timothy Green who, some years before, removed to Newlondon. The firm was

*Kneeland and Green.*

When this partnership took place, Kneeland opened a bookshop in King, now State street, on his own account, and Green managed the business of the printing house for their mutual interest. After attending to bookselling, for four or five years, Kneeland gave up his shop, returned to the printing house, and took an active part in all its concerns.

They continued the publication of The New-England Journal, near fifteen years; when, on the decease of the proprietor of the Boston Gazette, his heirs, for a small consideration, resigned that paper to Kneeland and Green. They united the two papers under the title of "The Boston Gazette, and Weekly Journal."

The partnership of Kneeland and Green was continued for twenty five years. In 1752, in consequence of the father of Green, in Newlondon, having become aged and infirm, the partnership was dissolved, and Green removed to that place, where he assumed his father's business.

The concerns of the printing house were, after Green went to Connecticut, continued by Kneeland with his accustomed energy. Soon after the dissolution of their partnership, The Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal was discontinued; and Kneeland, when a few months had elapsed, began another paper



entitled, "The Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser.\*

The booksellers of this time were enterprising. Kneeland and Green printed, principally for Daniel Henchman, an edition of the Bible in small 4to. This was the first Bible printed, in the English language, in America. It was carried through the press as privately as possible, and had the London imprint of the copy from which it was reprinted, viz. "London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," in order to prevent a prosecution from those, in England and Scotland, who published the Bible by a patent from the crown; or, *Cum privilegio*, as did the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. When I was an apprentice, I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact. The late governor Hancock was related to Henchman, and knew the particulars of the transaction. He possessed a copy of this impression. As it has a London imprint, at this day it can be distinguished from an English edition, of the same date, only by those who are acquainted with the niceties of typography. This Bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired. The edition was not large; I have been informed that it did not exceed seven or eight hundred copies.

Not long after the time that this impression of the Bible came from the press, an edition of the New Testament, in duodecimo, was printed by Rogers

\* See Newspapers.

and Fowle, for those, at whose expense the Bible issued. Both the Bible and the Testament were well executed. These were heavy undertakings for that day, but Henchman was a man of property; and, it is said, that several other principal booksellers, in Boston, were concerned with him in this business. The credit of this edition of the Testament was, for the reason I have mentioned, transferred to the king's printer, in London, by the insertion of his imprint.

Kneeland was, for a great length of time, printer to the governor and council, and during several years he printed the acts, laws and journals of the house of representatives. He was diligent, and worked at ease when far advanced in years. The books he published were chiefly on religious subjects; he printed some political pamphlets. He was independent in his circumstances; a member of the Old South church; and, was a pious, friendly, and benevolent man. He left four sons, all of whom were printers; two of them, whose names were Daniel and John, set up a press, in partnership, before their father's death; but the other two never were in business on their own account.

He died December 14th, 1769, aged seventy three years. The following is extracted from the Evening Post of December 18th, 1769.

“Last Thursday died, after a long indisposition, Mr. Samuel Kneeland, formerly, for many years, an eminent Printer in this Town. He sustained the character of an upright man and a good Christian, and as such was universally esteemed. He continued in business till through age and bodily

Infirmities he was obliged to quit it. His Funeral was very respectfully attended on Saturday Evening last."

## JAMES FRANKLIN.

WAS the brother of the celebrated dr. Benjamin Franklin. He was born in Boston, where his father, who was a respectable man, carried on the business of a tallow chandler, at the Blue Ball, corner of Union street. With this brother dr. Franklin lived several years, as an apprentice, and learned the art of Printing. I have been informed that James Franklin served an apprenticeship with a printer in England, where his father was born, and had connexions.

In March, 1744,\* J. Franklin came from London with a press and types, and began business in Boston. At first he printed a few pamphlets for booksellers. In 1719, a postmaster was appointed, who

\* Before the new stile took place in 1752, there was much confusion respecting *dates*, particularly in regard to the months of January and February. Some writers began the year in January, and others in March. The difficulty was to determine whether January and February closed an old year, or began a new one. It became necessary to have some mode, by which it might be known to what year January and February belonged, wherever these months were mentioned. For this purpose the following method was adopted.—During January, February, and to the 22d of March, the year was thus marked, 1716-17, or 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ , meaning, that by the ancient mode of calcu-

established a second newspaper; for until this time The Boston News-Letter was the only paper which had been published in British America. The title of the new paper was, "The Boston Gazette," and J. Franklin was employed to print it;\* but, within seven months, Philip Musgrave, being appointed to the postoffice, became the proprietor of the Gazette, and employed another printer; and Franklin otherwise employed his press until August 6, 1721; when, encouraged by a number of respectable characters, who were desirous of having a paper of a different cast from those then published, he began the publication, at his own risk, of a third newspaper, entitled, "The New-England Courant." Franklin's father and many of his friends were inimical to this undertaking. They supposed that one newspaper was enough for the whole continent; and they

lating, the month mentioned belonged to the year 1716; but, by the new calculation, to the year 1717. After the 29d of March there was no difficulty; for by both calculations, the succeeding months were included in the new year.

\* Dr. Franklin, in writing his life, was incorrect in asserting, that the Courant was the second newspaper published in America. There were three papers published at that time, viz. first, The Boston News-Letter; secondly, The Boston Gazette; and, the third was The American Mercury, published at Philadelphia; of course the Courant was the fourth. The doctor probably fell into this mistake, from his knowledge that his brother first printed the Gazette, which, in fact, was the second paper published in Boston. The doctor seems to have mentioned the events of his youth from recollection only; therefore, we cannot wonder if he erred in respect to some circumstances of minor importance. In more material concerns, he was substantially correct.

apprehended that another must occasion absolute ruin to the printer. Franklin, notwithstanding their remonstrances, proceeded.

This weekly publication, like the others issued in Boston, contained only a foolscap half sheet, but occasionally was enlarged to a whole sheet. The patrons of this paper formed themselves into a club, and furnished it with short original essays, generally one for each week, in imitation of the Spectator and other periodical publications of that class. These essays soon brought the Courant into notice; the rigid puritans warmly opposed it; but men of different sentiments supported it. Among others, the rev. Increase Mather, who was one of Franklin's first subscribers, very soon denounced The Courant, by an advertisement in The Boston Gazette, No. 114.\*

The Courant contained very little news, and but few advertisements. It took a decided part against the advocates of inoculation for the small pox, which was then beginning to be introduced—it was hostile to the clergy, and to some of the most influential men in civil government; and, it attacked some of the religious opinions of the day; in consequence, frequent assaults were made upon its writers; and, in their defence, they abounded more in severe, and not always the most refined, satire, than in argument. While, therefore, the Courant gained a currency with one part of the community, it excited the resentment of another, and soon attracted the notice of government.

\* For this advertisement, see History of Newspapers—Boston.

Franklin had not published *The New England Courant* twelve months, before he was taken into custody, publicly censured, and imprisoned four weeks, by the government, for publishing what were called "Scandalous Libels," &c.\*

Being released from his confinement, he continued the publication of the *Courant* until January 14, 1723, when an order of council, in which the house of representatives concurred, directed, "That James Franklin be strictly forbidden by this Court to Print or Publish the *New England Courant*, or any Pamphlet or Paper of the like Nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of this Province."† This order, this stride of despotism, could, it seems, at that time, be carried into effect; but, at this day, a similar attempt would excite indignation, or a contemptuous smile.

Franklin was not inclined to subject his paper to licensers of the press, and he was unwilling to stop the publication of it; but, he dared not proceed in defiance of the order of the legislature. The club wished for the continuance of the paper; and, a consultation on the subject was holden in Franklin's printing house, the result of which was, that to evade the order of the legislature, the *New England Courant* should, in future, be published by Benjamin Franklin, then an apprentice to James. Accordingly, the next *Courant* had the following imprint, "Boston, printed and sold by Benjamin

\* See resolve of council, July 5th, 1722, in *History of Newspapers*.

† For this Act of the Legislature see *Newspapers*.

Franklin, in Queen-Street, where advertisements are taken in." About a year afterward, J. Franklin removed his printing house to Union street.

The Courant was published in the name of Benjamin Franklin, for more than three years ; [q] and, probably, until its publication ceased ; but it appears from dr. Franklin's Life, that he did not remain for a long time with his brother after the Courant began to be printed in his name.

J. Franklin remained in Boston for several years. He continued to publish the Courant, and printed several small works. He had a brother, by the name of John, who was married and settled at Newport in the business of a tallow chandler. Not satisfied with his situation in Boston, and receiving an invitation from his brother and other persons in Rhodeisland, he removed to Newport, and set up the first printing press in that colony ; and, in the latter part of September, 1732, he published the first number of "The Rhode-Island Gazette."—  
[See *Rhodeisland*.]

James Franklin had learned, in England, the art of calico printing, and did something at the business, both in Boston and Newport. The Boston Gazette of April 25th, 1720, then printed by him for the postmaster, contains the following advertisement.

"The Printer hereof prints Linens, Calicoes, Silks, &c. in good Figures, very lively and durable colours, and without the offensive smell which commonly attends the Linens printed here."

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

WELL known and highly celebrated in this country and in Europe, was born in Boston, January 17th, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ . His father was an Englishman, and served an apprenticeship with a silk dyer in Northamptonshire. He came to Boston with his wife and three children ; and, after his arrival in America, he had four other children by the same wife. She dying, he married a native of Newengland, by whom he had ten children ; two daughters excepted, Benjamin was the youngest child by the second wife.\*

Franklin's father settled in Boston ; but, finding the business to which he had been bred insufficient to afford him a maintenance, he relinquished it, and assumed that of a soap boiler and tallow chandler, in which occupations, Benjamin was employed from the tenth to the twelfth year of his life.

Franklin was dissatisfied with the business of his father, and felt a strong inclination for a seafaring life. His father was extremely averse to that plan, and through fear that Benjamin might, in a clandestine manner, get to sea, he concluded to bind him apprentice to his nephew, who was settled in Boston, as a cutler ; but not agreeing with his nephew, on conditions, and Benjamin expressing a wish to be a printer, his father consented to gratify this in-

\* Franklin's Life, first London edition, 12mo. from which I have taken most of the particulars respecting him.



clination. At this time, 1717, James Franklin returned from England with printing materials, and commenced business in Boston; and Benjamin, at the age of twelve years, signed indentures, and became his apprentice.

Pleased with his new employment, Franklin soon became useful to his brother. He borrowed books, and read them with avidity and profit. At an early age, he wrote stanzas on the capture of Black Beard, a noted pirate; and, on other occurrences. These verses, he observes, "were miserable ditties," but his brother printed them, and sent Benjamin about the town to sell them. One of these compositions, he remarks, "had a prodigious run, because the event was recent, and had made a great noise."

When his brother printed a newspaper, Benjamin felt increased satisfaction with his business; and, he soon began, privately, to compose short essays, which he artfully introduced for publication without exciting suspicion of his being the author. These were examined and approved by the club of writers for the *Courant*, to the great gratification of the writer, who, eventually, made himself known.

It has already been stated, in the account given of James Franklin, that he was forbidden by the general court to proceed in the publication of the *Courant*, except on certain conditions. With the terms dictated, James determined that he would not comply; and, with a view to evade the injunctions of the government, the name of his brother Benjamin was substituted in the place of his own, and the publication was continued. "To avoid the

censure of the general assembly, who might charge James Franklin with still printing the paper under the name of his apprentice, it was resolved that Benjamin's indentures should be given up to him, with a full and entire discharge written on the back, in order to be produced on any emergency; but that to secure to James the service of Benjamin, it was agreed, the latter should sign a new contract, which should be kept secret during the remainder of the term." This, Benjamin observes, in his Life, was a very shallow arrangement, but it was put into immediate execution. Though the paper was still issued in Benjamin's name, he did not remain with his brother long after this arrangement was made. They disagreed, and in the eighteenth year of his age he privately quitted James, and took passage in a vessel for Newyork. At this time there was but one printer in Newyork, and from him Franklin could obtain no employment; but he gave our adventurer encouragement, that his son, who printed in Philadelphia, would furnish him with work. In pursuit of this object, he entered a ferry boat on his way to Philadelphia; and, after a very disagreeable passage, reached Amboy. From that place he travelled on foot to Burlington, where he was hospitably entertained, for several days, by an aged woman who sold gingerbread. When an opportunity presented to take passage in a boat, he embraced it, and reached Philadelphia in safety.

As Franklin afterwards obtained the highest offices in civil government, and was greatly celebrated as a statesman and a philosopher, the particulars of this apparently inauspicious period of his life

are singularly interesting ; I will, therefore, give his own narrative of his entrance into the capital of Pennsylvania, of which he was destined to become the governor.

“ On my arrival at Philadelphia, I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come by sea. I was covered with dirt ; my pockets were filled with shirts and stockings ; I was unacquainted with a single soul in the place, and knew not where to seek for a lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and having past the night without sleep, I was extremely hungry, and all my money consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling's worth of coppers, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. As I had assisted them in rowing, they refused it at first ; but I insisted on their taking it. A man is sometimes more generous when he has little, than when he has much money ; probably, because, in the first case, he is desirous of concealing his poverty. I walked towards the top of the street, looking eagerly on both sides, till I came to Market street, where I met a child with a loaf of bread. Often had I made my dinner on dry bread. I enquired where he had bought it, and went straight to the baker's shop, which he pointed out to me. I asked for some biscuits, expecting to find such as we had at Boston ; but they made, it seems, none of that sort in Philadelphia. I then asked for a threepenny loaf. They made no loaves of that price. Finding myself ignorant of the prices, as well as the different kinds of bread, I desired him to let me have three penny worth of bread of some kind or other. He gave me three large rolls. I

was surprized at receiving so much ; I took them, however, and having no room in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner I went through Market street to Fourth street, and passed the house of mr. Read, the father of my future wife. She was standing at the door, observed me, and thought, with reason, that I made a very singular and grotesque appearance.

“ I then turned the corner, and went through Chesnut street, eating my roll all the way ; and, having made this round, I found myself again on Market street wharf, near the boat in which I had arrived. I stepped into it to take a draught of the river water ; and, finding myself satisfied with my first roll, I gave the other two to a woman and her child, who had come down the river with us in the boat, and was waiting to continue her journey. Thus refreshed, I regained the street, which was now full of well dressed people, all going the same way. I joined them, and was thus led to a large Quakers’ meetinghouse, near the market place. I sat down with the rest, and after looking round me for some time, hearing nothing said, and being drowsy from my last night’s labor and want of rest, I fell into a sound sleep. In this state I continued till the assembly dispersed, when one of the congregation had the goodness to wake me. This was consequently the first house I entered, or, in which I slept, at Philadelphia.

“ I began again to walk along the street by the river side, and looking attentively in the face of every one I met, I at length perceived a young

quaker, whose countenance pleased me. I accosted him, and begged him to inform me where a stranger might find a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. They receive travellers here, said he, but it is not a house that bears a good character; if you will go with me I will shew you a better one. He conducted me to the Crooked Billet, in Water street. There I ordered something for dinner, and during my meal a number of curious questions were put to me; my youth and appearance exciting the suspicion that I was a runaway. After dinner, my drowsiness returned, and I threw myself on a bed without taking off my clothes, and slept till six o'clock in the evening, when I was called to supper. I afterward went to bed at a very early hour, and did not awake till the next morning.

“As soon as I got up I put myself in as decent a trim as I could, and went to the house of Andrew Bradford the printer. I found his father in the shop, whom I had seen at Newyork. Having travelled on horseback, he had arrived at Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me with civility, and gave me some breakfast; but, told me he had no occasion at present for a journeyman, having lately procured one. He added, that there was another printer newly settled in the town, of the name of Keimer, who might, perhaps, employ me; and, that in case of a refusal, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work now and then, till something better should offer.

"The old man offered to introduce me to the new printer. When we were at his house, 'Neighbor,' said he, 'I bring you a young man in the printing business; perhaps you may have need of his services.' Keimer asked me some questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I could work, and then said, that at present he had nothing for me to do, but that he should soon be able to employ me. At the same time, taking old Bradford for an inhabitant of the town well disposed towards him, he communicated his project to him, and the prospect he had of success. Bradford was careful not to discover that he was the father of the other printer; and from what Keimer had said, that he hoped shortly to be in possession of the greater part of the business of the town, led him by artful questions, and by starting some difficulties, to disclose all his views; what his hopes were founded upon, and how he intended to proceed. I was present, and heard it all. I instantly saw that one of the two was a cunning old fox, and the other a perfect novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was strangely surprised when I informed him who the old man was."

Keimer encouraged Franklin with the hope of employment in a short time, and he returned to Bradford's. In a few days after he began to work for Keimer, but continued to board with Bradford. This was not agreeable to Keimer, and he procured a lodging for him at Mr. Reed's, who has been already mentioned. "My trunk and effects being now arrived," says Franklin, "I thought of making, in the eyes of Miss Reed, a more respectable

appearance than when chance exhibited me to her view, eating my rolls and wandering in the streets."

Franklin remained about seven months in Philadelphia, worked for Keimer, and formed many acquaintances; some of them very respectable. Accident procured him an interview with governor Keith, who made him great promises of friendship and patronage; persuaded him to visit his father, which he accordingly did, and was bearer of a letter the governor wrote to him, mentioning the son in the most flattering terms; and, recommending his establishment as a printer at Philadelphia, under assurances of success. Franklin was at this time only in the nineteenth year of his age, and his father declined to assist in establishing him in business on account of his youth and inexperience; but, he answered governor Keith's letter; thanking him for the attentions and patronage he had exercised toward his son. Franklin determined to return to Philadelphia. At Newyork, on his way, he received some attentions from the governor of that colony.\* On his arrival at Philadelphia he presented his father's letter to governor Keith. The governor disapproved of the caution of his father; still urged the prosecution of the scheme; promised himself to be at all the expense of procuring printing materials; and advised Franklin to make a voyage to England, and select the types, under his own eye, at the foundry. To this plan Franklin agreed, and it was settled that the design should be kept secret, until an opportunity presented for his taking passage for

\* Burnet, who was soon after governor of Massachusetts.

London. In the mean time he continued to work for Keimer.

When a vessel was about to sail, the governor promised from day to day to give Franklin letters of credit upon his correspondent in London; and, when he was called on board ship, the governor told him, that he would send his letters to him on board. At the moment of sailing, letters were brought from the governor and put into the ship's letter bag; among which, Franklin supposed were those, that had been promised him. But when he reached his port, he found, on investigation, that he had neither letters of credit nor introduction. The governor had deceived him, and he landed a stranger in a strange country.

Destitute and friendless, Franklin's only means of support consisted in his capacity to labor. He immediately applied to a printer for employment as a journeyman, and obtained it. In this situation he continued for eighteen months, and gained much knowledge in the art of Printing. He then formed a connexion with a mercantile friend, whom he assisted as a clerk; and, with him, he returned to Philadelphia. This friend soon died, and Franklin relinquished the plan of mercantile pursuits. He returned to the business of a printer as a journeyman; but, soon after, opened a printing house of his own in Philadelphia. [*See Philadelphia Printers.*]



## TIMOTHY GREEN, JUN.

He was the son of Timothy Green, who removed from Boston to Newlondon in 1714; and great grandson of Samuel Green, of Cambridge.

I have seen no printing with his name before 1726. One or two pamphlets were then printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green. Several small publications appeared afterwards with Kneeland's name only.

In 1727, a regular partnership took place between them, under the firm of "S. Kneeland and T. Green." This partnership, as has been mentioned, continued till 1752, when he removed to Newlondon, and succeeded his father. [*See Kneeland and Green, and printers in Connecticut.*]

## BARTHOLOMEW GREEN, JUN.

Was the son of Bartholomew Green, printer of The Boston News-Letter, grandson to Samuel Green, who printed at Cambridge, and served an apprenticeship with his father.

The earliest works I have seen printed by Bartholomew Green, jun. are, a small book published in 1726, and The Boston Gazette, for the postmaster, Henry Marshall, in 1727.

He made use of his press and types in the printing house of his father, till 1734; and was, occasionally, connected with John Draper, his brother in law, in printing pamphlets, &c. Draper succeeded to the business of B. Green the elder in 1732, in the same house. On the night of the 30th of January, 1734, this house, with the greatest part of its contents, was destroyed by fire. After this misfortune, B. Green jun. formed a copartnership with John Bushell and Bezoune Allen. The firm of this company was,

*Green, Bushell and Allen.*

They printed a number of small books for the trade, which were very well executed. They used handsome types, and printed on good paper. How long this partnership continued, I cannot say; it was dissolved before 1751.

In September 1751, Green, with his printing materials, removed to Halifax, Novascotia, intending to establish a press in that place; but, he died in about five weeks after his arrival there, at the age of fifty two years. On his decease, his late partner Bushell, went to Halifax, and commenced business with Green's press.

Green left several children, and two of his sons were printers. Bartholomew, the eldest of them, never had a press of his own. The following peculiarity in his character introduced him to a particular intercourse with the merchants of the town; he made himself so well acquainted with every vessel which sailed out of the port of Boston, as to know

each at sight. Perpetually on the watch, as soon as a vessel could be discovered with a spyglass in the harbor, he knew it, and gave immediate information to the owner ; and, by the small fees for this kind of information, he principally maintained himself for several years. Afterward he had some office in the custom house. John, another son, will be mentioned hereafter.

One of the daughters of Green, is the mother of mr. Joseph Dennie, formerly editor of *The Farmer's Museum*, at Walpole, Newhampshire, and now editor of *The Port Folio*, published at Philadelphia. Mr. Dennie is reckoned among the first scholars in the *Belles Lettres*, which our country has produced.

### GAMALIEL ROGERS.

**SERVED** his apprenticeship with Bartholomew Green, the elder. About the year 1729, he began business in a printing house, near the Mill Bridge. He printed for the booksellers. In 1742, he commenced a partnership with Daniel Fowle, under the firm of

#### *Rogers and Fowle.*

They opened a printing house in Prison lane, for some time called Queen street, and now named Court street.

For those times, they entered largely into business, and the books they printed, in magnitude and

variety, exceeded the usual works of the country. A number of octavo and duodecimo volumes issued from their house ; and, their printing was executed with accuracy and neatness. Several of these books were printed on their own account.

In 1743, they issued *The American Magazine*. It was published in numbers, monthly ; printed in a handsome manner, and, in its execution, deemed equal to any work of the kind then published in London. Several respectable booksellers were interested in this magazine. It was continued for three years.

In the beginning of the year 1748, they commenced the publication of a newspaper, entitled *The Independent Advertiser*. A number of able writers supported and enlivened this publication. Its prominent features were political. In 1750, they closed the business of the firm, and the *Independent Advertiser* was then discontinued.

During the partnership of Rogers and Fowle, they printed an edition of about two thousand copies of the New Testament, 12mo. for D. Henchman and two or three other principal booksellers, as has been already observed.

This impression of the Testament, the first in the English language printed in this country, was, as I have been informed, completed at the press, before Kneeland and Green began the edition of the Bible which has been mentioned.

Zechariah Fowle, with whom I served my apprenticeship, as well as several others, repeatedly mentioned to me this edition of the Testament. He was, at the time, a journeyman with Rogers and

Fowle, and worked at the press. He informed me, that on account of the weakness of his constitution, he greatly injured his health by the performance. Privacy in the business was necessary ; and as few hands were intrusted with the secret, the press work was, as he thought, very laborious. I mention these minute circumstances in proof that an edition of the Testament did issue from the office of Rogers and Fowle, because I have heard that the fact has been disputed.

Rogers and Fowle were correct printers. They used good types, paper, and excellent ink of their own manufacture. They were the only printers, I believe, who at that time, could make good ink. The printing ink used in this country, until lately, was chiefly imported from Europe. In the first stages of printing, printers made their own ink and types ; but, the manufacture of types and ink soon became separate branches of business. Most of the bad printing in the United States, particularly, in Newengland, during the revolutionary war, was occasioned by the wretched ink, and more wretched paper, which printers were then under the necessity of using.

After the dissolution of the partnership of Rogers and Fowle, Rogers removed to the west part of the town, then called New Boston ; and there opened a printing house. For two or three years he did a little business in this place, when his printing house was, unfortunately, burnt down. By this accident he was deprived of his press, and the principal part of his types. Having lost most of his property, he did no more business as a

printer. His spirits were broken, and he appeared dejected. At an advanced period of life, he opened a small shop opposite to the Old South church, where he supported his family, by retailing ardent spirits in small quantities, trifling articles of grocery, and by vending a few pamphlets, the remnant of his stock. I went myself frequently to his shop, when a minor. He knew that I lived with a printer, and for this, or some other reason, was very kind to me; he gave me some books of his printing; and, what was of more value to me, good advice. He admonished me diligently to attend to my business, that I might become a reputable printer. I held him in high veneration; and, often recollected his instructions, which, on many occasions, proved beneficial to me.

Rogers was industrious, and an excellent workman; an amiable, sensible man, and a good christian.

In 1775, soon after the battle at Bunker's Hill, when Boston was wholly in possession of the British troops, and besieged by the provincials, Rogers was among a number of the infirm and invalid inhabitants of that town who obtained permission from the British general, to leave it. He sought an asylum at Ipswich; removed there, and died at that place in the autumn of that year, aged 70.

He left several daughters, but no sons; two of his daughters married clergymen; one of them was the wife of the rev. Elijah Parsons of Easthaddam, in Connecticut, and the other the second wife of the reverend mr. Dana of Ipswich,

## JOHN DRAPER.

WAS the son of Richard Draper, a trader in Boston. He served his apprenticeship with Bartholomew Green, senior, whose daughter he married; and, at the decease of his father in law, occupied his printing house in Newbury street.

In September, 1731, Draper commenced the publication of a political paper, entitled, *The Weekly Rehearsal*. It was printed, according to the custom of those times, on a half sheet of small paper; and was carried on at the expense of some gentlemen who formed themselves into a political or literary club, and wrote for it. At the head of this club was the late celebrated Jeremy Gridley, esq.\* who was the real editor of the paper. The receipts for *The Rehearsal* never amounted to more than enough to defray the expense of publication. Draper printed this paper only about a year and a half, and at the expiration of about four years it was discontinued.

On the 28th of December, 1732, Bartholomew Green died, and Draper succeeded him in his business; particularly as publisher of *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*. In 1734, he printed the

\* Mr. Gridley was afterward attorney general of the province of Massachusetts, grand master of the society of free masons, president of the marine society, and a member of the general court. He died in September, 1767.

laws of the province. He was afterward appointed printer to the governor and council, and was honored with that mark of confidence and favor as long as he lived.

Draper not only succeeded Bartholomew Green in his business, but he was heir to his calamities also. On the night of the 30th of January, 1734, the flames were seen to burst from his printing house, but too late for any effectual assistance to be afforded. The fire had kindled in the interior part of the building, which was burnt to the ground; and, nearly the whole of the printing materials were destroyed. This loss was in some measure repaired by the friendship of his brethren of the type, who loaned to him a press, and several founts of letters, till he could replace those articles by a new printing apparatus from England.

He printed a number of books for the trade; but published only a few small pamphlets for his own sales. He annually printed Ames's famous Almanack, for himself and for booksellers; of which about sixty thousand copies were annually sold in the Newengland colonies.

Draper owned the house in which he resided. It was in Cornhill, the east corner of the short alley leading to the church in Brattle street. He was an industrious and useful member of society, and was held in estimation by his friends and acquaintances.

He died November 29th, 1762, and was succeeded in business by his son.

The following character of Draper is extracted from The Boston Evening Post of December 6, 1762.



“ On Monday Evening last departed this Life after a slow and hectic Disorder, having just entered the 61st Year of his Age, Mr. John Draper, Printer, who for a long Time has been the Publisher of a News-Paper in this Town; and by his Industry, Fidelity and Prudence in his Business, rendered himself very agreeable to the Public.—His Charity and Benevolence; his pleasant and sociable Turn of Mind; his tender Affection as a Husband and Parent; his Piety and Devotion to his Maker, has made his Death as sensibly felt by his Friends and Relations, as his Life is worthy Imitation.”

### JOHN BUSHELL.

WAS born in Boston, where he served an apprenticeship. He began business about the year 1734; and, as I have been informed, printed The Boston Weekly Post Boy, during a short period, for Ellis Huske, postmaster. He was afterward of the firm of Green, Bushell and Allen. They did but little business while together, and the connexion was dissolved about 1750. Upon the termination of the partnership, Green, as has been mentioned, removed to Halifax, Novascotia; and, as he died a few weeks after his arrival, Bushell went to Halifax, and with Green's apparatus established a press in that place. He was the first who printed in that province. [*See Novascotia.*]

## BEZOUNE ALLEN.

WAS, probably, the son of John Allen. He entered on business, according to report, about the year 1734; and was, for several years, of the firm of Green, Bushell and Allen. This copartnership was formed, I believe, in 1736. I have seen books printed by them as late as 1745; but, I have not discovered that any thing was printed by Allen separately. They never were in extensive business; and, what they did consisted, principally, in small works for the booksellers.

## JONAS GREEN.

WAS the son of the elder Timothy Green, who removed from Boston and settled at Newlondon, in 1714, and great grandson of Samuel Green, printer at Cambridge. He was born at Boston, and served his apprenticeship with his father in Newlondon. When of age, he came to Boston, and was several years in the printing house of his brother, who was then the partner of S. Kneeland.

I have seen but one book printed by Jonas Green, in Boston, viz. "A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue, by Judah Monis, professor of the Hebrew language, at Harvard college," in Cam-

bridge, Massachusetts. Good judges pronounced this work to be correctly printed. I have seen a copy of it in the Theological library in Boston, where the original manuscript is preserved. The Hebrew types were a cast belonging to the college, which have since been used in printing professor Sewall's Hebrew Grammar, and, I suppose, are now in the museum of the university.

Green resided several years in Philadelphia; and, during that time was employed in the printing houses of Bradford and Franklin.

In 1739, as there was not a printer in Maryland, the legislature of that province employed an agent to procure one. Green, being well recommended by his employers, made application to the agent, and obtained the place of printer to that government. In consequence of the liberal encouragement he received, he opened a printing house at Annapolis in 1740. [*See printers in Maryland.*]

## EBENEZER LOVE.

I HAVE not been able to obtain much information respecting Love. He was born in, or near Boston, and served his apprenticeship in that town.

I have seen nothing of his printing; but, he was known in Boston as a printer; indeed, I recollect, myself, that, when a lad, I heard mention made of him; but I cannot ascertain that he was at any time actively engaged in the printing business.

In The Boston Evening Post of May 14th, 1770, under the Boston head, is the following paragraph, viz.

“We hear from New-Providence, that on the 23d of January last, died there after a few days illness of a Bilious Cholic, Ebenezer Love, Esq. formerly of this town, Printer. For a number of years past, he had resided at that Island, and carried on Merchandize ; was well esteemed by the Gentlemen there, and elected a member of their House of Assembly.”

### DANIEL FOWLE.

WAS born in Charlestown, near Boston, and served his apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland.

He began printing, on his own account, in 1740, “north side of King street, opposite the town house.”

In 1742, he, and Gamaliel Rogers, formed a partnership, in business, under the firm of Rogers and Fowle.\* A brother of Fowle, named John, was a silent partner in this firm. They opened a printing house in Prison lane, the house next but one to the old stone gaol, on the site of which the court house now stands. In the account given of Rogers, I have mentioned the works done by this company ; and, particularly, the New Testament, the American Magazine, and the newspaper, enti-

\* See Rogers and Fowle.

tled, The Independent Advertiser. In taking notice of Fowle, therefore, I shall begin with the period at which the partnership was dissolved, that is, in 1750.

Soon after that event, Fowle opened a printing house on the south side of Anne street, not far from the Flat Conduit, so called, which at that time stood in Union street. At the same place, he also opened a shop, and kept a small collection of books for sale. Here he printed a number of works, chiefly pamphlets, most of which were for his own sales.

In October, 1754, Fowle, while at dinner, was arrested, by virtue of an order of the house of representatives, signed by Thomas Hubbard, their speaker, and taken before that house, on *suspicion* of having printed a pamphlet, which reflected upon some of the members. It was entitled, "*The Monster of Monsters.*—By Tom Thumb, Esq." After an hour's confinement in the lobby, he was brought before the house. The speaker, holding a copy of the pamphlet in his hand, asked him, "Do you know any thing of the printing of this Book?" Fowle requested to see it; and, it was given him. After examination, he said, that it was not of his printing; and, that he had not such types in his printing house. The speaker then asked, "Do you know any thing relating to the said Book?" Fowle requested the decision of the house, whether he was bound to answer the question. No vote was taken, but a few members answered, "Yes!" He then observed, that he had "bought some copies, and

had sold them at his shop." This observation occasioned the following questions and answers, viz.\*

Question. [By the speaker.] Who did you buy them of?

Answer. They were, I believe, sent by a young man, but I cannot tell his name.

Q. Who did he live with?

[Fowle again desired the decision of the house, whether he was obliged to give the required information, and a number of individual members again replied, "Yes!"—Upon which Fowle answered]

The young man, I believe, lives with Royall Tyler.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him [Tyler] about them?

A. I believe I might, in the same manner I had with many others; not that I thought him the author. It was never offered me to print.

Q. Did any of your hands assist in doing it?

A. I believe my negro might, as he sometimes worked for my brother.†

Q. Has your brother any help?

A. No.

\* Vide "Total Eclipse of Liberty," a pamphlet written and published by D. Fowle, containing a full account of this arbitrary procedure.

† This negro was named Primus. He was an African. I well remember him; he worked at press with or without an assistant; he continued to do press work until prevented by age. He went to Portsmouth with his master, and there died, being more than ninety years of age; about fifty of which he was a pressman.

Q. Did you see any of it whilst printing?

A. Yes.

Q. Whose house was it in?

A. I think it was my brother's.

Q. Where does he live?

A. Down by Cross street.

Q. What is his name?

A. Zechariah.

One of the members then said to Fowle, "*You do not know when you lie!*" Fowle replied, "Begging your pardon, sir, I know when I lie, and what a lie is as well as yourself."

After this examination, Fowle was again confined for several hours in the lobby; and, from thence, about ten o'clock at night, was, by order of the house, taken to the "common gaol," and there closely confined "among thieves and murderers."\* He was denied the sight of his wife, although she, with tears, petitioned to see him; no friend was permitted to speak to him; and he was debarred the use of pen, ink and paper.

Royall Tyler, esq. was arrested, and carried before the house. When interrogated, he claimed the right of silence—" *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*," was the only answer he made. He was committed for contempt; but, was soon released, on a promise that he would be forth coming when required.

\* Fowle was confined in the same room with a thief and a notorious cheat; and, in the next cell, was one Wyer, then under sentence of death for murder, and was soon after executed. [Vid. *Fowle's Total Eclipse of Liberty*.]

The house ordered their messenger to take Fowle's brother Zechariah into custody, with some others ; but his physician gave a certificate of his indisposition, and by this mean he escaped imprisonment.

After two days close confinement, D. Fowle was taken to the keeper's house, and told, that, "*He might go ;*" but, he refused ; observing, that as he was confined at midnight uncondemned by the law, he desired that the authority which confined, should liberate him, and not *thrust him out privily*. He remained with the gaoler three days longer ; when learning from a respectable physician, that his wife was seriously indisposed—that her life was endangered by her anxiety on account of his confinement—and, his friends joining their persuation to this call upon his tenderness, Fowle was induced to ask for his liberation. He was accordingly dismissed ; and, here the prosecution ended. He endeavored to obtain some satisfaction for the deprivation of his liberty, but he did not succeed in the attempt.

Disgusted with the government of Massachusetts by this treatment, and being invited by a number of respectable gentlemen in Newhampshire to remove into that colony, he accepted their invitation ; and, at the close of the following year, established his press at Portsmouth. He was the first printer who settled in that province ; and, in 1756, he began the publication of *The New-Hampshire Gazette*.

D. Fowle was, I believe, the third person whom the legislature of Massachusetts imprisoned for print-



ing what was deemed a libel on that body, or on some of its members, or for publishing heretical opinions, &c.

Living in the family of Daniel Fowle's brother, I early became minutely acquainted with the whole transaction, and deep impressions were then made upon my mind in favor of the liberty of the press. For this liberty I am now an advocate, but I still, as I ever did, hold the opinion, that a line should be drawn between the liberty and the licentiousness of the press. We seem to have passed from one extreme to the other; and, it is now difficult, I confess, to mark the proper boundary. [*See Newhampshire.*]

## ZECHARIAH FOWLE.

He was born at Charlestown, near Boston, of very respectable parents, and served his apprenticeship with his brother Daniel, who was, at that period, in partnership with Gamaliel Rogers.

The first book which bears the name of Z. Fowle as printer, was begun by Rogers and Fowle, viz. Pomfret's Poems, on a new small pica. On the dissolution of that firm, they assigned this book over to Z. Fowle, who completed it, and sold the greater part of the copies, in sheets, to booksellers.

He soon after opened a printing house, and a small shop, in Middle street, near Cross street, where he printed and sold ballads and small pamphlets.

Not being much known as a printer, and living in a street where but little business was transacted, he was selected by a number of gentlemen, who were in opposition to the measures of the general court, and particularly to an excise act, to print a pamphlet entitled, "The Monster of Monsters," satirizing this act, and bearing with some severity upon individual members of the court. D. Fowle was prevailed upon to assist his brother in carrying this work through the press. Joseph Russell, his apprentice, then nearly of age, worked at the case, and a negro man at the press. The pamphlet was small, and appeared without the name of the printer.

It was the custom of that day to hawk about the streets every new publication. Select hawkers were engaged to sell this work ; and, were directed what answers to give to enquiries into its origin—who printed it, &c. The general court was at the time in session. The hawkers appeared on the Exchange with the pamphlet, bawling out, "*The Monster of Monsters!*" Curiosity was roused, and the book sold. The purchasers inquired of the hawkers, where the Monster came from?—all the reply was, "*It dropped from the moon!*" Several members of the general court bought the pamphlet. Its contents soon excited the attention of the house. Daniel Fowle, who was suspected to be the printer, was brought before the house of representatives and examined, as has been observed.\* Z. Fowle was then ordered into custody, and Russell who assisted

\* Vid. Daniel Fowle.

him. Russell was brought before the house, examined and released.

Z. Fowle hearing, that his brother and Russell were arrested, and that the officer was in search of him, was instantly seized with a violent fit of the cholic. His illness was not feigned; he possessed a slender constitution, was often subject to this complaint; and, at this time, it was brought on by the fear of an arrest. When the officer appeared, the attending physician certified that he was dangerously ill. With this certificate the officer departed, and Fowle escaped imprisonment—the punishment which his brother unjustly experienced.

When Daniel Fowle removed to Portsmouth, Zechariah took the printing house, which he had occupied, in Anne street.

Until the year 1757, Z. Fowle printed little else than ballads; he then began an edition of the Psalter for the booksellers. In this work he was aided by two young printers just freed from their indentures, and to whom Fowle allowed a proportionate part of the profits of the impression. One of these, Samuel Draper, a very worthy young man, became a partner with Fowle after the Psalter was printed. The firm was

### *Fowle and Draper.*

They took a house in Marlborough street, opposite the Founder's Arms; here they printed, and opened a shop. They kept a great supply of ballads, and small pamphlets for book pedlars, of whom there were many at that time. They printed sev-

eral works of higher consequence, viz. an edition consisting of twenty thousand copies of *The Youth's Instructor in the English Tongue*, commonly called the *Newengland Spelling Book*; this school book was in great repute, and in general use for many years.—*Janeway's Heaven upon Earth*, octavo—*Watts's Psalms*, and several smaller duodecimo volumes—all for the trade. They printed, also, many pamphlets of various sizes on their own account; and, had full employment for themselves and two lads. Draper was a diligent man, and gave unremitted attendance in the printing house. Fowle was bred to the business, but he was an indifferent hand at the press, and much worse at the case. He was never in the printing house when he could find a pretence for being absent.

After the death of John Draper, Richard, his son, took his kinsman Samuel, as a partner, and Fowle again printed by himself. The business in his printing house was then principally managed by a young lad, his only apprentice.

Soon after he separated from Draper, he removed to Back street, where he continued printing and vending ballads and small books until 1770; at which time Isaiah Thomas became his partner. This connexion was dissolved in less than three months, and Thomas purchased his press and types.

Fowle, having on hand a considerable stock of the small articles he usually sold, continued his shop till 1775. Boston being then a garrison town in the possession of the British troops, he obtained a permit to leave it, and removed to Portsmouth,

Newhampshire. While in this place he resided with his brother, and died in his house in 1776.

Fowle was a singular man, very irritable and effeminate, and better skilled in the domestic work of females, than in the business of a printing house. His first wife died in 1759—he married a second ; but had no children by either. Fowle could not be called an industrious man ; yet, in justice to his character, it ought to be mentioned, that he did business enough to give himself and family a decent maintenance. Although he did not acquire property, he took care not to be involved in debt. He was honest in his dealings, and punctual to his engagements.

## BENJAMIN EDES.

WAS born in Charlestown, near Boston. He began business with John Gill, in the year 1755, under the firm of

### *Edes and Gill.*

They continued in partnership until the commencement of the revolutionary war.

Their printing house, for a time, was in King street, now State street ; they afterward occupied the printing house formerly kept by Rogers and Fowle, the second house west of the present court house in Court street, After the death of Samuel

Kneeland, they removed to the printing house which he, for about forty years, occupied, and there they remained until hostilities commenced between the parent state, and the colonies.

Two newspapers had been published, entitled *The Boston Gazette*, and were, in succession, discontinued. Edes and Gill began a new paper under the title of "*The Boston Gazette; and Country Journal*;" which soon gained an establishment, and became distinguished for the spirited political essays which appeared in it.

They published many political pamphlets, and, for a number of years were appointed printers to the general court. They did some business for booksellers. A small number of octavo and duodecimo volumes were occasionally issued from their press; but, their principal business consisted in the publication of the *Gazette*. When the dispute between Greatbritain and her colonies assumed a serious aspect, this paper arrested the public attention, from the part its able writers took in the cause of liberty and their country; and, it gained a very extensive circulation. Edes was a warm and a firm patriot, and Gill was an honest whig.

Soon after the revolutionary war began, the British troops closed the avenues between Boston and the country; but Edes fortunately made his escape by night, in a boat, with a press and a few types.

He opened a printing house in Watertown, where he continued the *Gazette*, and printed for the provincial congress of Massachusetts. Here he found full employment, and his zeal in the cause

of his country animated him to redoubled diligence.

The printing he executed at Watertown, did not, indeed, do much credit to the art ; but the work, at this time, done at other presses, was not greatly superior. The war broke out suddenly, and few of any profession were prepared for the event. All kinds of printing materials had usually been imported from England ; even ink for printers had not, in any great quantity, been made in America. This resource was, by the war, cut off ; and, a great scarcity of these articles, soon ensued.

At that time, there were but three small paper mills in Massachusetts ; in Newhampshire, there were none ; and, Rhodeisland contained only one, which was out of repair. The paper which these mills could make, fell far short of the necessary supply. Paper, of course, was extremely scarce, and what could be procured was badly manufactured, not having more than half the requisite labor bestowed upon it. It was often taken from the mill wet, and unsized. People had not been in the habit of saving rags, and stock for the manufacture of paper was obtained with great difficulty. Every thing like rags was ground up together to make a substitute for paper. This, with wretched ink, and worn out types, produced miserable printing.

In 1776, Edes returned to Boston, on the evacuation of the town by the British army.

Gill had remained recluse in Boston during the siege. They now dissolved their connexion, and divided their printing materials. Edes continued to print for the state several years.

In 1779, he took his two sons Benjamin and Peter into partnership; their firm was

*Benjamin Edes and Sons.*

About three years after this event, Peter began business for himself in Boston, but was not successful. Benjamin continued with his father some time longer, and then set up a press, and printed a newspaper in Haverhill, Massachusetts; but, he was not more fortunate than his brother.

The father continued the business alone, and labored along with *The Boston Gazette*. This paper had had its day, and it now languished for want of that support it derived from the splendid talents of its former writers—some of whom were dead, some were gone abroad, and others were employed in affairs of state. It was further depressed and paralyzed by the establishment of other newspapers; and, by the exertions of another class of writers, who enlivened the columns of these new journals, with their literary productions.

Edes was a man of great industry. At the beginning of the revolutionary war, he had accumulated a very decent property, which was not lessened when he returned to Boston, in 1776. At that time, he took a good house in Cornhill, part of which formed the alley leading to Brattle street; it was next to that formerly owned by John Draper; but, some years before his death, he moved into a house, which he then owned, in Temple street, and hired a chamber over the shop of a tinplate worker in Kilby Street, where he erected his press.



The rapid depreciation of paper money proved fatal to the property of Edes, as well as to that of many others. He had a large family to support ; and, he continued to work, as had been his custom, at case and press, until the infirmities of age compelled him to cease from labor. In the advanced period of his life, competence and ease forsook him, and he was oppressed by poverty and sickness.

He died in December, 1803, at the age of eighty years. His second son, Peter Edes, is now a printer at Augusta, in the district of Maine.

Edes began the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, and with him it ended. No publisher of a newspaper felt a greater interest in the establishment of the independence of the United States than Benjamin Edes ; and, no newspaper was more instrumental in bringing forward this important event than *The Boston Gazette*. [*See Newspapers.*]

## JOHN GILL.

THE partner of Benjamin Edes, and the junior publisher of *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, served his apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland, and married one of his daughters. Gill was a sound whig, but did not possess the political energy of his partner. He was industrious ; constantly in the printing house, and there worked at case or press, as occasion required.

His partnership with Edes continued for twenty years. They separated at the commencement of hostilities by the British, in 1775. Gill remained in Boston during the siege; he did no business, and thought it prudent to confine himself to his own house. He had, fortunately, acquired a competency for the support of his family under that trial.

After the evacuation of Boston, his connexion with Edes ended. They divided their stock, and settled their concerns. Edes continued the publication of the Gazette; and, Gill issued another paper, entitled, "The Continental Journal." Having published this paper several years, he sold the right of it, in 1785, with his printing materials, to James D. Griffith.

Gill was brother to the hon. Moses Gill, who, subsequent to the revolution, was, for several years, lieutenant governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

He died August 25, 1785, and left several children.

The Continental Journal, which announced to the public the death of Gill, contains the following observations respecting him, viz.

"Capt. John Gill, for disseminating principles destructive of tyranny, suffered during the siege of this town in 1775, what many other printers were threatened with, *a cruel imprisonment*. He, however, was so fortunate as to survive the conflict; but had the mortification, lately, of seeing the press ready to be shackled by a *stamp act*, fabricated in his native state; he, therefore, resigned his business, not choosing to submit to a measure which Britain

artfully adopted as the foundation of her intended tyranny in America. His remains were very respectfully entomb'd last Monday afternoon." [*See Edes.—Bost. Gaz.*]

## JOHN GREEN.

WAS the son of Bartholomew Green, jun. who died at Halifax, and the great grandson of Samuel Green of Cambridge. He was born in Boston, served an apprenticeship with John Draper, and married his daughter.

J. Green began business with Joseph Russell in the year 1755. The firm was

### *Green and Russell.*

Their press was established in Tremont street, in a house which was taken down to make room for Scollay's buildings.

In August, 1757, they issued from their press, a newspaper, entitled, "The Boston Weekly Advertiser." They repeatedly altered the title of this paper,\* but continued its publication until 1773, when they sold their right in it, to Mills and Hicks.

In 1758 they removed, and opened a printing house in Queen street, in the brick building which makes the east corner of Dorset's alley, and nearly opposite to the court house; this building

\* See Newspapers.

has ever since been occupied as a printing house. They printed for some time the journals of the house of representatives, and the laws of the government. They also did the printing of the custom house, and published a number of pamphlets; but, they never engaged largely in book work.

A few years after this partnership was formed, Russell opened an auction office, the profits of which were shared by the firm. Green managed the printing house, and Russell the auction room. They continued together until 1775, and by their attention to business acquired a handsome property.

Green remained in Boston during the siege, and when the British troops left the town, he became interested in the Independent Chronicle, then published by Powars and Willis, but his name did not appear. He was a man of steady habits, true to his engagements, and well respected.

He died November, 1787, aged sixty years. He had no children. He was, I believe, the last of the descendants of Samuel Green of Cambridge, who printed in this state.

### JOSEPH RUSSELL.

WAS born in Boston, served an apprenticeship with Daniel Fowle, and entered into partnership with John Green, in 1755.\*

\* Russell lived with Daniel Fowle, at the time Fowle was imprisoned on suspicion of printing "The Monster of Monsters." Vid. Zechariah Fowle.

Russell was a good workman in the printing business; but his talents were more particularly adapted to the duties of an auctioneer. When Green and Russell united auctioneering with printing, Russell took the sole management of the vendue room; he soon arrived to celebrity in this line, and had more employment in it than any other person in Boston.

When his partnership with Green was dissolved, he formed a connexion with Samuel Clap; and this company, under the firm of *Russell and Clap*, continued the business of auctioneers till the death of Russell.

Russell was full of life, very facetious and witty; but attentive to his concerns. Few men had more friends, or were more esteemed. In all companies he rendered himself agreeable. He acquired considerable property, but did not hoard up his wealth, for benevolence was one of his virtues. He was a worthy citizen, and a friend to his country.

He died at the end of November, 1795, aged sixty one years.

## BENJAMIN MECOM.

WAS a native of Boston. His mother was the sister of James and of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin. Mecom served his apprenticeship with his uncle B. Franklin, at Philadelphia.

When of age, having received some assistance from his uncle, he went to Antigua, and there print-

ed a newspaper ; but, in 1756, he quitted that island, and returned to Boston.

In 1757, he opened a printing house in Cornhill, nearly opposite to the Old Brick church. At the same place he kept a shop and sold books. His first work was a large edition, thirty thousand copies, of the Psalter, for the booksellers. He printed them on terms so low, that his profits did not amount to journeymen's wages. This edition was two years worrying through his press.

After the Psalter, Mecom began to print and publish, on his own account, a periodical work, which he intended should appear monthly. It was entitled, "The New-England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure." It contained about fifty pages 12mo. but he published only three or four numbers. These were issued in 1758 ; but no date either of month or year appeared in the title page, or in the imprint. In this Magazine were inserted several articles, under the head of "*Queer Nations.*" Each number, when published, was sent about town for sale, by hawkers ; but few copies were vended, and the work, of course, was discontinued.

His business was not extensive ; he printed several pamphlets for his own sale, and a few for that of others. He remained in Boston for a number of years ; but when James Parker and Co. who printed at Newhaven, removed to Newyork, Mecom succeeded them. Soon after dr. Franklin procured Mecom the office of postmaster for Newhaven.

He married in Newjersey, before he set up his press in Boston. He possessed good printing mate-

rials ; but, there was something singular in his work, as well as in himself.

He was in Boston several months before the arrival of his press and types from Antigua, and had much leisure. During this interval, he frequently came to the house where I was an apprentice. He was handsomely dressed, wore a powdered bob wig, ruffles and gloves ; gentlemanlike appendages which the printers of that day did not assume—and, thus apparelled, would often assist, for an hour, at the press.

An edition of *The New-England Primer* being wanted by the booksellers, Z. Fowle consulted with Mecom on the subject, who consented to assist in the impression, on condition that he might print a certain number for himself. To this proposal Fowle consented, and made his contract with the booksellers. Fowle had no help but myself, then a lad in my eighth year. The impression consisted of ten thousand copies. The form was a small sixteens, on foolscap paper. The first form of the *Primer* being set up, while it was worked at the press, I was put to case to set the types for the second. Having completed this, and set up the whole cast of types employed in the work, and the first form being still at press, I was employed as a fly ; that is, to take off the sheets from the tympan as they were printed, and pile them in a heap ;—this expedited the work. While I was engaged in this business, I viewed Mecom at the press with admiration. He indeed put on an apron to save his clothes from blacking, and guarded his ruffles ; but, he wore his coat, his wig, his hat and his gloves, whilst working at press ; and, at case, laid aside his apron. When

he published his Magazine with "Queer Notions," this singularity, and some *eddenda*, known to the trade, induced them to give him the appellation of "Queer Notions."

Mecom was, however, a gentleman in his appearance and manners; had been well educated to his business; and, if "queer," was honest and sensible; and called a correct and good printer. [See *Newhaven—Philadelphia—Antigua.*]

## THOMAS FLEET, JUN.

AND

## JOHN FLEET.

THEY were brothers, and having learned from their father the art of Printing, succeeded him in business at his house in Cornhill, in 1758. I mention them together, because they commenced printing in partnership, and continued in connexion until separated by death.

They carried on the publication of The Boston Evening Post until the commencement of the revolutionary war; when they suspended the publication of that newspaper, and it was never after resumed. The impartiality with which this paper was conducted, in those most critical times, the authenticity of its news, and the judicious selections of its publishers, gained them great and deserved reputation.

Both brothers were born in Boston. Their father gave them a good school education; they were correct printers, very attentive to their concerns,



punctual in their dealings, good citizens, and much respected.

They printed several works in octavo, and some volumes in duodecimo, on their own account ; and, some in connexion with other printers. Their shop was always supplied with smaller articles for the benefit of their sisters, who were never married.

They remained in Boston during the siege ; and, afterward, revived the publication of the *Massachusetts Register*, which originated with Mein and Fleming some years before, and had been continued by Mills and Hicks.

Thomas died a bachelor, March 2, 1797, aged sixty five years. John was married ; he died March 18, 1806, aged seventy one, and left several children ; one of whom, by the name of Thomas, is now a printer in Boston, at the same house in which his grandfather began *The Boston Evening Post*.

## RICHARD DRAPER.

HE was the son of John Draper, the successor of Bartholomew Green, proprietor and printer of *The Boston News-Letter*.

R. Draper was brought up a printer by his father ; continued with him after he became of age ; and, for some years before his father's death, was a silent partner with him. On the death of his father, Richard continued the *News Letter*.

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He was early appointed to the office of printer to the governor and council, which he retained during life. His paper was devoted to the government ; and, in the controversy between Greatbritain and the American colonies, strongly supported the royal cause. He added, " The Massachusetts Gazette," to the title of " The Boston News-Letter," and decorated it with the king's arms.\*

Many able advocates for the government filled the columns of the News Letter, but the opposition papers were supported by writers at least equally powerful, and more numerous.

The constitution of R. Draper was very feeble, and he was often confined by sickness. Soon after his father's death, he took his kinsman, Samuel Draper, who was connected with Z. Fowle, into partnership, under the firm of

### *R. and S. Draper.*

Samuel was not permitted to share in the honor of printing for the governor and council. In all the work done for them, Richard's name alone appeared as printer. Samuel Draper died a few years after this connexion was formed.

R. Draper, having been successful in his business, erected a handsome brick house, on a conven-

\* It had become fashionable, many years before the revolution, among publishers of newspapers, especially those whose titles embraced the word Gazette, to ornament the titles with this ensign of royalty. But the printers in Boston had not followed this fashion.

ient spot in front of the old printing house in Newbury street, in which he resided. He was attentive to his affairs, and was esteemed the best compiler of news of his day. His character was amiable, and his friends were numerous and respectable.

He died June 6, 1774, aged forty seven years. He left no children, and was succeeded by his widow.

Draper, alone, did very little book printing; but he was concerned with Edes and Gill, and the Fleets, in publishing several volumes of sermons, &c.

One month preceding his death, he commenced a limited copartnership with John Boyle. Boyle's name appeared in the Gazette with Draper's; whose ill health rendering him unable to attend closely to business, Boyle undertook the chief care and management of it.

The following sketch of the character of R. Draper, is taken from the Evening Post of June 13, 1774. "He was a man remarkable for the amiable delicacy of his mind, and gentleness of his manners. A habit enfeebled and emaciated by remorseless disease, and unremitted distress, could never banish the smile from his countenance. A well founded confidence in the mercies of his God, and the happy consciousness of a life well spent, smoothed the pillow of anguish, and irradiated the gloom of death, with the promise of succeeding joy; in every relation he sustained in life, his endearing manners and inflexible integrity rendered him truly exemplary."

## SAMUEL DRAPER.

WAS the nephew and apprentice of John Draper. He was born at Martha's Vineyard.

In 1758, soon after he became of age, he went into trade with Zechariah Fowle, who stood in much need of a partner like Draper. Their connexion was mutually advantageous. Fowle had been in business seven years; but had made no progress in the advancement of his fortune.

Draper was more enterprising, but had no capital to establish himself as a printer. He was a young man of correct habits, and handsome abilities. He was industrious; and, for those times, a good workman. Draper was an important acquisition to his partner, although Fowle did not appear to be highly sensible of it.

The connexion continued five years; during which time, they printed, as has been remarked, three or four volumes of some magnitude, a large edition of the Youth's Instructor in the English Tongue, another of the Psalter; also, a variety of pamphlets, chapmen's small books, and ballads. They so far succeeded in trade, as to keep free of debt, to obtain a good livelihood, and increase their stock. Their printing house was in Marlborough street; it was taken down several years since, and a new house built on its site, which now makes the south corner of Franklin street, at the entrance from Marlborough street.

The articles of copartnership contemplated a continuance of the connexion of Fowle and Draper, for seven years ; but, on the death of John Draper, Richard, his son, succeeded to his business. Richard was often confined to his house by ill health, and wanted an assistant ; he, therefore, made liberal proposals to Samuel, which were accepted ; and they entered into partnership.

In pursuance of this new arrangement, the connexion between Fowle and Draper was dissolved ; and Draper recommenced business with a more active and enterprising partner.

S. Draper continued with his kinsman until his death, which happened March 15, 1767, at the age of thirty years.

While he was in partnership with Fowle, he married an agreeable young lady, of a respectable family, by whom he had two daughters. His widow is yet living.

He had two brothers who were printers ; the eldest of whom, named Richard, died several years ago. The other, whose name was Edward, with a partner, published, for some time during the late war, a newspaper in Boston.

### DANIEL KNEELAND.

WAS the son of Samuel Kneeland, and served his apprenticeship with his father. He began trade as a bookbinder, in plain work, having been bred to binding, as well as printing.

A dispute had arisen between the printers and booksellers respecting Ames's Almanack, the particulars of which I do not fully recollect; but, in substance, it is as follows. John Draper and his predecessor Bartholomew Green, had always purchased the copy of that Almanack, and printed it on their own account; but, they had supplied the booksellers, in sheets, by the hundred, the thousand, or any quantity wanted. About the year 1759, this Almanack was enlarged, from sixteen pages on a foolscap sheet, to three half sheets. Draper formed a connexion with Green and Russell, and T. and J. Fleet, in its publication. A half sheet was printed at each of their printing houses; and, they were not disposed to supply booksellers as formerly. The booksellers, immediately on the publication of the Almanack, had it reprinted; and soon after a number of the principal of them set up a printing house for themselves; and, they engaged Daniel Kneeland, and John his brother, to conduct it for them, under the firm of

*D. and J. Kneeland.*

The Kneelands continued to print for these booksellers several years, in part of the building occupied by their father as a printing house; after which some difficulty arising, the booksellers put a stop to their press, and divided among them the printing materials. Daniel Kneeland then dissolved his connexion with his brother John; and, being furnished with the press, and a part of the types, which had been owned by the booksellers,

he engaged in printing on his own account, but worked chiefly for the trade.

About the year 1772, Daniel took, as a partner, a young man by the name of Nathaniel Davis. The firm was

*Kneeland and Davis.*

This company was, in the course of two or three years, dissolved by the death of Davis.

Kneeland's business before the revolutionary war was inconsiderable, and it afterward became still more contracted.

He died in May, 1789, aged sixty eight years.

JOHN KNEELAND.

WAS another son of Samuel Kneeland, and he was taught the art by his father.

He began printing, in connexion with his brother Daniel, for the booksellers ; for whom they worked during their partnership, as has been related. When the connexion between the brothers was dissolved, John entered into partnership with Seth Adams, under the firm of

*Kneeland and Adams.*

They opened a printing house in Milk street, at the corner of the alley which leads to Trinity

church; this building has been taken down to make room for a livery stable.

The principal work of Kneeland and Adams, was Psalters, Spelling Books, and Psalm Books, for booksellers. Their partnership continued only a few years. Adams quitted printing, and became a post rider.

J. Kneeland did little, if any, business, after the commencement of the revolutionary war. He died in March, 1795, aged sixty two years.

### WILLIAM MACALPINE.

WAS a native of Scotland, where he was bred to bookbinding. He came to Boston early in life, and set up the trade of a binder; and, afterward, opened a shop, for the sale of a few common books, in Marlborough street, opposite to the Old South church. His business was soon enlarged by supplies of books from Glasgow. He removed several times to houses in the same street.

A disagreement taking place between the booksellers and the printers of Ames's Almanack, the principal booksellers set up a press for themselves, and reprinted this Almanack;\* but, they refused to furnish Macalpine with copies either of their Almanack, or of any books printed at their press. Macalpine, being thus denied a supply of Ames's

\* Copy rights were not then secured by law in the colonies.



**Almanack**, both by the original printers of it, and by the booksellers who reprinted it, sent to Edinburgh for a press and types, and for a foreman to superintend a printing house. In 1762, he commenced printing; and, annually, furnished himself with Ames's Almanack, and other books for his own sales.

John Fleming, previous to his connexion with John Mein, was one or two years concerned with Macalpine in printing.

Macalpine continued in business until the commencement of the revolutionary war; he was a royalist, and remained in Boston during the siege; but he quitted the town with the British army.

He died at Glasgow, Scotland, in 1788.

## JOHN FLEMING.

WAS from Scotland, where he was brought up to printing. He came to Boston in 1764; and was, for a short time, connected with his countryman William Macalpine.

Mein, a bookseller, from Edinburgh, having opened a very large collection of books for sale, Fleming separated from Macalpine, and formed a partnership with Mein.

Fleming made a voyage to Scotland, there purchased printing materials for the firm, hired three or four journeymen printers—and, accompanied by them, he returned to Boston.

The company then opened a printing house in Wing's lane,\* and began printing under the firm of

*Mein and Fleming.*

Fleming was not concerned with Mein in book-selling. Several books were printed at their house for Mein, it being an object with him to supply his own sales; none of them, however, were of great magnitude. Some of these books had a false imprint, and were palmed upon the public for London editions, because Mein apprehended that books printed in London, however executed, sold better than those which were printed in America; and, at that time, many purchasers sanctioned his opinion.

In less than two years after the establishment of this company, they removed their printing materials to Newbury street.

In December 1767, they began the publication of a weekly newspaper, entitled, "The Boston Chronicle." This paper was printed on demy, in quarto, imitating, in its form, The London Chronicle.

The Boston Chronicle obtained reputation; but Mein, who edited the paper, soon devoted it zealously to the support of the measures of the British administration against the colonies; and, in consequence, the publishers, and particularly Mein, incurred the displeasure and the resentment of the whigs, who were warm advocates for American liberty. The publishers were threatened with the effects of

\* Now Elm street.

popular resentment. Mein, according to his deserts, experienced some specimens of it. The Chronicle was discontinued in May, 1770, and Mein returned to Europe.

Fleming was less obnoxious. He remained in Boston ; and, as the Chronicle had been discontinued, the popular resentment soon subsided. He married a young lady of a respectable family in Boston ; and, soon after his late partner went to Europe, he opened a printing house in King street, and printed books on his own account.

He issued proposals for publishing Clark's Family Bible in folio, but did not meet with encouragement.

Fleming continued in Boston until 1773, when he sold his printing materials to Mills and Hicks, and went to England with his family.

He more than once visited this country after 1790, as an agent for a commercial house in Europe ; and, subsequently, resided some time in France, where he died a few years since,

## JOHN MEIN.

Of the firm of Mein and Fleming, was born in Scotland, and there bred to the business of a bookseller. He had received a good education, was enterprising, and possessed handsome literary talents.

He arrived at Boston, from Glasgow, in November, 1764, in company with Mr. Robert Sande-

man,\* a kinsman of Mr. Sandeman of the same christian name, who for a short time was the partner of Mein, and a number of other Scotchmen, on a visit to this country with a view of settling here.

Mein brought with him a good assortment of books; a quantity of Irish linens and other goods, and opened a shop in Marlborough street, in connexion with Sandeman. Their shop was the old wooden building at the north corner of the entrance to what is now called Franklin street, and is, at this time, occupied as a bookstore. Their firm was Mein and Sandeman.

They continued in company only a few months; and, when they separated, Mein took a house in King street, at the corner of the alley leading to the market, and there opened a large bookstore, and circulating library.

He was connected with a bookseller in Scotland, who was extensively in trade; and, by this mean, he was supplied, as he wanted, with both Scotch and English editions of the most saleable books.

He soon found that a concern in printing would be convenient and profitable. His countryman, John Fleming, who was a good printer, was then in Boston; and, with him he formed a connexion in a printing establishment. Fleming went to Scotland, and procured printing materials, workmen, &c. On his return, they, in 1766, opened a printing house,

\* Mr. Sandeman was the author of the then celebrated letters on the rev. Mr. Hervey's Theron and Aspasio. A type founder by the name of Mitchelson, I believe, arrived in the same vessel with Mein and Sandeman.

and printed a number of books for Mein's sales, and published *The Boston Chronicle*, as has been already mentioned.

The *Chronicle* was printed on a larger sheet than other Boston newspapers of that day, but did not exceed them in price. For a time it was well filled with news, entertaining and useful extracts from the best European publications, and some interesting original essays. Mein was doing business to great advantage, but he soon took a decided part in favor of the obnoxious measures of the British administration, against the colonies, and the *Chronicle* became a vehicle for the most bitter pieces, calumniating and vilifying some of those characters in whom the people of Massachusetts placed high confidence; and, in consequence, it lost its credit as rapidly as it had gained it. Mein, its editor, became extremely odious, and to avoid the effects of popular resentment, he secreted himself until an opportunity presented for a passage to England, which he embraced; and, left this country, to which he never returned.

Mein had unquestionably been encouraged, in Boston, as a partizan and an advocate for the measures of government. In London, he engaged himself, under the pay of the ministry, as a writer against the colonies; but, after the war commenced, he sought other employment.

## SETH ADAMS.

SERVED his apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland. He began printing in Queen street, with John Kneeland; they afterwards occupied a printing house in Milk street, at the corner of Boarded alley, now known by the name of Hawley street. They were three or four years in business, and printed chiefly for the booksellers.

Adams's father in law was the first post rider between Boston and Hartford. When he died, Adams quitted printing, and continued the occupation of his father in law.

He died a few years after.

## EZEKIEL RUSSELL.

WAS born in Boston, and served an apprenticeship with his brother Joseph Russell, the partner of John Green.

In 1765, he began printing with Thomas Furber, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, under the firm of Furber and Russell.

Not succeeding in business, they dissolved their partnership, and Russell returned to Boston. He worked with various printers until 1769, when he procured a press and a few types. With these he printed on his own account, in a house near Concert hall. He afterward removed to Union

street, and in addition to the business of printing, added that of an auctioneer, which he soon quitted, and adhered to printing. Excepting an edition of Watts's Psalms, he published nothing of more consequence than pamphlets, most of which were small.

In November, 1771, he began a political publication, entitled, "The Censor." This paper was supported during the short period of its existence, by those who were in the interest of the British government.

Russell afterward removed to Salem, and attempted the publication of a newspaper, but did not succeed. He again removed, and went to Danvers, and printed in a house known by the name of the Bell tavern. In a few years he returned once more to Boston ; and, finally, took his stand in Essex street, near the spot on which grew the great elms, one of which was then standing, and was called "Liberty tree." Here he printed and sold ballads, and published whole and half sheet pamphlets for pedlers. In these small articles, his trade principally consisted, and afforded him a very decent support.

The wife of Russell was indeed an "help meet for him." She was a very industrious, active woman ; she made herself acquainted with the printing business ; and, not only assisted her husband in the printing house, but she sometimes invoked her muse, and wrote ballads on recent tragical events, which being immediately printed, and set off with wooden cuts of coffins, &c. had frequently "a considerable run."

Russell died September, 1796, aged fifty two years. His wife continued the business.

## ISAIAH THOMAS.

DESCENDED from a respectable family which had settled near Boston not many years after that town was founded. His grandfather carried on business in that place, in a store which he owned, on the Town dock; and died in the year 1746, leaving four sons and two daughters, who were all arrived at the age of maturity. His second son, Moses, lived some time on Longisland, where he married and had two children; after which he returned to Boston, and had three more children; the youngest of whom is the subject of this memoir.

Moses Thomas, having expended nearly all his patrimony, went abroad, and died in Northcarolina; leaving his widow, in narrow circumstances, with five dependent children. Her friends in Longisland took the charge of providing for the two who were born there, and had been left in their care; the others she supported by the profits of a small shop she kept in Boston. Her diligence and prudent management ensured success; insomuch that beside making provision for her family, she was enabled to purchase a small estate in Cambridge. This place she afterward unfortunately lost; for being fully possessed with the idea that the continental paper money, issued during the revolutionary war, would, ultimately, be paid in specie, and having what she thought a very advantageous offer for her house and land in that kind of security, she sold the same, and



became one among the number of unfortunate people who lost nearly the whole of their property, from a misplaced confidence in the paper currency of the day.

When her son, Isaiah, was six years of age, he was apprenticed by his mother to Zechariah Fowle ; who, as has been already remarked, principally made use of his press in printing ballads ; and by whom he was soon employed to set types—for which purpose he was mounted on a bench eighteen inches high, and the whole length of a double frame, which contained cases of both Roman and Italic. His first essay with the composing stick, was on a ballad, entitled, "*The Lawyer's Pedigree*;" which was set in types of the size of double pica.

He remained eleven years with Fowle ; after which period they separated, in consequence of a disagreement. On quitting Fowle he went to Nova-scotia, with a view to go from thence to England, in order to acquire a more perfect knowledge of his business.

He found typography in a miserable state in that province ; and, so far was he from obtaining the means of going to England, that he soon discovered that the only printer in Halifax could hardly procure, by his business, a decent livelihood. However, he remained there seven months ; during which time the memorable British stamp act took place in Nova-scotia, which, in the other colonies, met with a spirited and successful opposition.

The Halifax Gazette was printed by a Dutchman, whose name was Henry. He was a good natured, pleasant man, who in common concerns did

not want for ingenuity and capacity ; but he might, with propriety, be called a very unskilful printer. To his want of knowledge or abilities in his profession, he added indolence ; and, as is too often the case, left his business to be transacted by boys or journeymen, instead of attending to it himself. His printing affairs were on a very contracted scale ; and he made no efforts to render them more extensive. As he had two apprentices, he was not in want of assistance in his printing house ; but Thomas accepted an offer of board for his services ; and the sole management of the Gazette was immediately left to him. He new modelled the Gazette according to the best of his judgment, and as far as the worn out printing materials would admit. It was soon after printed on stamped paper, made for the purpose in England. To the use of this paper, " the young Newenglandman," as he was called, was opposed ; and, to the stamp act he was extremely hostile.

A paragraph appeared in the Gazette, purporting that the people of Novascotia were, generally, disgusted with the stamp act. This paragraph gave great offence to the officers of government, who called Henry to account for publishing what they termed sedition. Henry had not so much as seen the Gazette in which the offensive article had appeared ; consequently, he pleaded ignorance ; and, in answer to their interrogatories, informed them that the paper was, in his absence, conducted by his journeyman. He was reprimanded, and admonished that he would be deprived of the work of government, should he, in future, suffer any thing of the kind to appear in the Gazette. It was not long be-

fore Henry was again sent for, on account of another offence of a similar nature; however, he escaped the consequences he might have apprehended, by assuring the officers of government that he had been confined by sickness; and he apologized in a satisfactory manner for the appearance of the obnoxious publication. But, his journeyman was summoned to appear before the secretary of the province; to whose office he accordingly went. He was, probably, not known to mr. secretary, who sternly demanded of him, What he wanted?

A. Nothing, sir.

Q. Why came you here?

A. Because I was sent for.

Q. What is your name?

A. Isaiah Thomas.

Q. Are you the young Newenglandman who prints for Henry?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How dare you publish in the Gazette that the people of Novascotia are displeased with the stamp act?

A. I thought it was true.

*Sec.* You have no right to think so.—If you publish any thing more of such stuff, you shall be punished.—You may go; but, remember you are not in Newengland.

A. I will, sir.

Not long after this adventure occurred, a vessel arrived at Halifax, from Philadelphia, and brought some of the newspapers published in that city.

The Pennsylvania Journal, published the day preceding that on which the stamp act was to take

place, was in full mourning. Thick black lines surrounded the pages, and were placed between the columns; a death's head and cross bones were surmounted over the title; and, at the bottom of the last page was a large figure of a coffin, beneath which was printed the age of the paper; and, an account of its having died of a disorder called the *stamp act*. A death's head, &c. as a substitute for a stamp, was placed at the end of the last column on the first page. Thomas had a strong desire to decorate *The Halifax Gazette* in the same manner; but he dared not do it, on account of his apprehensions of the displeasure of the officers of government. However, an expedient was thought of to obviate that difficulty, which was to insert in the *Gazette* an article of the following import.—“We are desired by a number of our readers, to give a description of the extraordinary appearance of the *Pennsylvania Journal* of the 30th of October last—[1765.]—We can in no better way comply with this request, than by the exemplification we have given of that *Journal* in this day's *Gazette*.” As near a representation as possible, was made of the several figures, emblems of mortality, and mourning columns; all which, accompanied by the qualifying paragraph, appeared together in *The Halifax Gazette*, and made no trifling bustle in the place.

Soon after this event, the effigy of the stamp-master was hung on the gallows near the citadel; and other tokens of hostility to the stamp act were exhibited. These disloyal transactions were done silently and secretly; but they created some alarm; a captain's guard was continually stationed at

the house of the stampmaster, to protect him from those injuries which were expected to befall him. It is supposed the apprehensions entertained on his account, were entirely groundless.

The officers of government had prided themselves in the loyalty of the people of that province, in not having shewn any opposition to the stamp act.—“These things were against them;” and a facetious officer was heard to repeat to some of his friends, the old English proverb—“*We have not saved our bacon.*”

An opinion prevailed, that Thomas not only knew the parties concerned in these transactions, but had a hand in them himself; on which account, a few days after the exhibition of the stampmaster's effigy, a sheriff went to the printing house, and informed Thomas that he had a precept against him; and, intended to take him to prison, unless he would give information respecting the persons concerned in making and exposing the effigy of the stampmaster. He mentioned, that some circumstances had produced a conviction in his mind, that Thomas was one of those who had been engaged in these seditious proceedings. The sheriff receiving no satisfactory answer to his inquiries, ordered Thomas to go with him before a magistrate; and he, having no person to consult, or to give him advice, in the honest simplicity of his heart was going to obey the orders of this terrible alguazil; but, being suddenly struck with the idea, that this proceeding might be intended merely to alarm him into an acknowledgment of his privy to the transactions in question, he told the sheriff he did not know him; and de-

manded information respecting the authority by which he acted. The sheriff answered, that he had sufficient authority ; but, on being requested to exhibit it, the officer was, evidently, disconcerted, and shewed some symptoms of his not acting under "the king's authority"—however, he answered, that he would shew his authority when it was necessary ; and again ordered this "printer of sedition" to go with him. Thomas answered, he would not obey him unless he produced a precept, or proper authority for taking him prisoner. After further parley the sheriff left him, with an assurance that he would soon return ; but Thomas saw him no more ; and he, afterward, learned that this was a plan concerted for the purpose of surprising him into a confession.

A short time before the exhibition of the effigy of the stampmaster, Henry had received from the stampoffice, the whole stock of paper that was sent ready stamped from England, for the use of the Gazette. The quantity did not exceed six or eight reams ; but, as only three quires were wanted weekly for the newspaper, it would have been sufficient, for the purpose intended, twelve months. It was not many weeks after the sheriff, already mentioned, made his exit from the printing house, when it was discovered that this paper was divested of the stamps ; not one remained ; they had been cut off, and destroyed. On this occasion, an article appeared in the Gazette, announcing that "all the stamped paper for the Gazette was used, and as no more could be had, it would, in future, be published without stamps."

In March, 1767, Thomas quitted Halifax, and went to Newhampshire; where he worked, for some time, in the printing houses of Daniel Fowle, and Furber and Russell. In July following he returned to Boston. There he remained several months, in the employ of his old master, Z. Fowle.

Receiving an invitation from the captain of a vessel to go to Wilmington, in Northcarolina, where he was assured a printer was wanted, he arranged his affairs with Fowle, again left him, by agreement, and went to Newport; where he waited on Martin Howard, esq. chief justice of Northcarolina, who was then at that place, and was departing for Wilmington. To this gentleman he made known his intention of going to Northcarolina, and received encouragement from the judge, who gave him assurances of his influence in procuring business for him at Capefear; for which place they sailed in the same vessel.

A gentleman at Newport, also, favored him with a letter of recommendation to Robert Wells, printer, in Charleston, Southcarolina.

When he arrived at Wilmington, he, in pursuance of advice from judge Howard, and several other gentlemen, waited on governor Tryon, then at that place. The governor encouraged him to settle there; and flattered him that he would be favored with a part of the printing for government. But as a printer he labored under no inconsiderable difficulty, that is, he had neither press, nor types, nor money to purchase them.

It happened that Andrew Steuart, a printer, was then at Wilmington, who had a press with two or

three very small founts of letters, for sale. He had printed a newspaper; and, as some work was given him by the government, he called himself "king's printer;" but, at this period, he was without business, having given great offence to the governor and the principal gentlemen at Cape Fear. For this reason he was desirous to sell the materials he had then in that place, and to return to Philadelphia, where he had another small printing establishment.

Pursuant to the advice of several gentlemen, Thomas applied to Stuart, to purchase the press, &c. but Stuart, knowing he could not easily be accommodated with these articles elsewhere, took advantage of his situation, and demanded about three times as much for them as they cost when new. After some debate, Stuart lowered his price to about double the value. Several gentlemen of Wilmington offered to advance money, on a generous credit, to enable Thomas to make the purchase. When Stuart found the money could be raised, he refused to let the types go without an appendage of a negro woman and her child, whom he wished to sell before he quitted the place. An argument ensued; but Stuart persisted in his refusal to part with the printing materials, unless the negroes were included in the sale. Thomas, after advising with friends, agreed to take them, finding he could dispose of them for nearly the price he was to give for them. He then thought the bargain was concluded; but Stuart threw a new difficulty in the way. He had a quantity of common household furniture, not the better for wear, which he also wanted to dispose of; and would not part with the other articles unless the



purchaser would take these also. The furniture was entirely out of Thomas's line of business ; and he had no use for it. He, therefore, declared himself off the bargain ; and, afterward, when Steuart retracted, respecting the sale of the furniture, Thomas began to be discouraged by the prospects the place afforded ; he was not pleased with the appearance of the country ; his money was all gone ; and his inclination to visit England was renewed. For these reasons he renounced all thoughts of settling at Cape-fear at that time ; although a merchant there, offered to send to England, by the first opportunity, for a printing apparatus, which he would engage Thomas should have on a long credit.

With a view to go to England, he entered himself as steward on board a ship bound to the West-indies ; expecting when he arrived there, he should easily find an opportunity to go to London. He did duty on board the vessel ten days ; but, imbibing a dislike to the captain, who was often intoxicated, and attempted to reduce him into a mere cabin boy, and to employ him about the most servile and menial offices, he revolted at these indignities, and procured his discharge.

On this occasion he remembered the recommendation he had received at Newport to a printer at Charleston ; and, finding a packet bound there, he quitted a very kind friend he had gained at Wilmington, and after a long passage, in which he met with many adventures, beside that lamentable one of spending his last shilling, he arrived at Charleston.

When he presented the letter of recommendation to Wells, the printer, he had the mortification to

learn he was not in want of a journeyman. However, Wells civilly employed him at low wages, and soon put him into full pay. He continued at Charleston two years ; and had nearly completed a contract to go and settle in the Westindies ; but his health declining, he returned to Boston in 1770, after having visited several of the southern colonies. He formed a connexion with Zechariah Fowle, and began business by publishing *The Massachusetts Spy*, a small newspaper printed three times in a week.

Thomas's partnership with his former master Fowle, continued but three months ; he then purchased the printing materials which Fowle had in his possession, and gave his security to Fowle's creditor for the payment. Fowle had, during nineteen years, been in possession of his press and types, and had not paid for them. The creditor was a near relation by marriage, and had exacted only the payment of the annual interest of the debt.

Thomas continued the *Spy*, but altered the publication of it from three times to twice a week. Each publication contained a half sheet. After having published it three months, in the new form, in December 1770, he discontinued it. On the 5th of March 1771, he began another paper with the same title, which was published weekly, on a large sheet folio.

It was at first the determination of Thomas that his paper should be free to both parties which then agitated the country, and, impartially, lay before the public their respective communications ; but he soon found that this ground could not be maintained. The dispute between Britain and her

American colonies became more and more serious, and deeply interested every class of men in the community. The parties in the dispute took the names of *Whigs* and *Tories*; the *tories* were the warm supporters of the measures of the British cabinet, and the *whigs* the animated advocates for American liberty. The *tories* soon discontinued their subscriptions for the *Spy*; and, the publisher was convinced that to produce an abiding and salutary effect, his paper must have a fixed character. He was in principle attached to the party which opposed the measures of the British ministry; and he, therefore, announced that the *Spy* would be devoted to the support of the *whig* interest.

Some overtures had been previously made by the friends of the British government to induce him to have the *Spy* conducted wholly on their side of the question; and, these having been rejected, an attempt was made to force a compliance, or to deprive him of his press and types. It was known that he was in debt for these articles, and that his creditor was an officer of government, appointed by the crown. This officer, notwithstanding he was a very worthy man, was pushed on to make a demand of payment, contrary to his verbal agreement, under the apprehension that the money could not be raised. When Thomas assumed the debt of Fowle, he gave his bond, payable in one year, under an assurance, that the capital might lay as it had done, if the interest annually due should be punctually paid; and when, contrary to stipulation, the capital was demanded, he borrowed money, and paid one debt by contracting another.

An essay, published in the *Spy*, November 1771, under the signature of Mucius Scaevola, attracted the attention of the executive of the province. Governor Hutchinson assembled his council on the occasion ; and, after consultation, the board determined, that the printer should be ordered before them. In pursuance of this resolution, their messenger was sent to inform Thomas, that his attendance was required in the council chamber. To this message he replied, " that he was busily employed in his office, and could not wait upon his excellency and their honors." The messenger returned to the council with this answer, and, in an hour after, again came into Thomas's printing house, and informed him, that the governor and council waited for his attendance ; and, by their direction, inquired, Whether he was ready to appear before them ? Thomas answered, that he was not. The messenger went to make his report to the council, and Thomas to ask advice of a distinguished law character. He was instructed to persist in his refusal to appear before the council, as they had no legal right to summon him before them ; but, should a warrant issue from the proper authority, he must then submit to the sheriff who should serve such a process upon him. This was a critical moment ; the affair had taken air, and the public took an interest in the event. The council proceeded with caution, for the principle was at issue, whether they possessed authority, arbitrarily to summon whom they pleased before their board, to answer to them for their conduct. The messenger was, however,

the third time sent to Thomas, and brought him this verbal order.

*Mess.* The governor and council order your immediate attendance before them in the council chamber.

*T.* I will not go.

*Mess.* You do not give this answer with an intention that I should report it to the governor and council ?

*T.* Have you any thing written, by which to shew the authority under which you act ?

*Mess.* I have delivered to you the order of the governor and council, as it was given to me.

*T.* If I understand you, the governor and council order my immediate attendance before them ?

*Mess.* They do.

*T.* Have you the order in writing ?

*Mess.* No.

*T.* Then, sir, with all due respect to the governor and council, I am engaged in my own concerns, and shall not attend.

*Mess.* Will you commit your answer to writing ?

*T.* No, Sir.

*Mess.* You had better go, you may repent your refusal to comply with the order of the council.

*T.* I must abide by the result.\*

The messenger carried the refusal to the council. The board for several hours debated the ques-

\* This conversation with the messenger is taken from a memorandum made at the time.

tion, Whether they should commit Thomas for *contempt* ; but, it was suggested by some member that he could not legally be committed unless he had appeared before them ; in that case, his answers might have been construed into a contempt of their body, and been made the ground of commitment. It was also suggested that they had not authority to compel his appearance before them to answer for any supposed crime or misdemeanor, punishable by law, as particular tribunals had the exclusive cognizance of such offences. The supposed want of authority was, indeed, the reason why a compulsory process had not been adopted in the first instance. There were not now, as formerly, licensers of the press.

The council, being defeated in the design to get the printer before them, ordered the attorney general to prosecute him at common law. A prosecution was accordingly soon attempted, and great efforts made to effect his conviction. The chief justice, at the following term of the supreme court in Boston, in his charge to the grand jury, dwelt largely on the doctrine of libels ; on the present licentiousness of the press ; and, on the necessity of restraining it. The attorney general presented a bill of indictment to the grand inquest against Isaiah Thomas for publishing an obnoxious libel. The court house was crowded from day to day to learn the issue. The grand jury returned this bill, *Ignoramus*. Foiled by the grand jury in this mode of prosecution, the attorney general was directed to adopt a different process ; and to file an information against Thomas. This direction of the court was soon known to the

writers in the opposition, who attacked it with so much warmth and animation, and offered such cogent arguments to prove that it infringed the rights and liberties of the subject, that the court thought proper to drop the measure. Unable to convict the printer either by indictment or information in Suffolk, a proposal was made to prosecute him in some other county, under the following pretext.—The printers of newspapers circulate them through the province; and, of course, publish them as extensively as they are circulated. Thomas, for instance, circulates the *Spy* in the county of Essex, and as truly publishes the libel in that county, as in Suffolk where the paper is printed. The fallacy of this argument was made apparent; the measure was not adopted, and government, for that time, gave over the prosecution; but, on a subsequent occasion, some attempts of that kind were renewed.\*

It became at length apparent to all reflecting men, that hostilities must soon take place between Greatbritain and her American colonies. Thomas had rendered himself very obnoxious to the friends of the British administration; and, in consequence, the tories, and some of the British soldiery in the town, openly threatened him with the effects of their resentment.

For these and other reasons, he was induced to pack up, privately, a press and types, and to send them, in the night, over Charles river, to Charles-

\* On account of some essays addressed to the King, published in the *Spy* in September 1772, and at other periods.

town, whence they were conveyed to Worcester. This was only a few days before the affair at Lexington.

The press and types constituted the whole of the property he saved from the proceeds of five years labor ; the remainder was destroyed, or carried off by the followers and adherents of the royal army, when it quitted Boston.

On the night of April 18, 1775, it was discovered that a considerable number of British troops were embarking in boats on the river near the common, with the manifest design to destroy the stores collected by the provincials, at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston ; and he was concerned, with others, in giving the alarm. At day break, the next morning, he crossed over to Charlestown, went to Lexington, and joined the provincial militia in opposing the King's troops. On the 20th, he went to Worcester, opened a printing house, and soon after recommenced the publication of his newspaper.\*

The provincial congress assembled at Watertown proposed that Thomas's press should be removed to that place ; but, as all concerns of a public nature were then in a state of derangement, it was finally determined, that his press should remain at Worcester ; and, that postriders should be established to facilitate an intercourse between that place, Watertown and Cambridge ; and, at Worcester

\* The publication of the *Spy* ceased for three weeks. It appeared from the press in Worcester, May 3d, 1775. This was the first printing done in any inland town in Newengland.



he continued to print for Congress until a press was established at Cambridge and at Watertown.

During the time he had been in business at Boston, he had published a number of pamphlets, but not many books of more consequence.

Having made an addition to his printing materials, in 1773, he sent a press and types to Newburyport,\* and committed the management of the same to a young printer, whom he soon after took into partnership in his concerns in that place; and in December of the same year, he began the publication of a newspaper in that town. His partner managed their affairs imprudently, and involved the company in debt; in consequence of which Thomas sold out at considerable loss.

In January 1774, he began, in Boston, the publication of *The Royal American Magazine*; but the general distress and commotion in the town, occasioned by the operation of the act of the British parliament to blockade the port of Boston, obliged him to discontinue it, before the expiration of the year, much to the injury of his pecuniary interest. [*See Worcester—Newspapers, &c.*]

## JOHN BOYLE.

SERVED an apprenticeship with Green and Russell. He purchased the types of Fletcher of Halifax, and began business as a printer and book-

\* This was the first press set up in Newburyport.

seller, in Marlborough street in 1771, and printed a few books on his own account.

In May, 1774, Boyle formed a partnership with Richard Draper, publisher of *The Massachusetts Gazette*, or *Boston News Letter*. Draper died the following month, and his widow continued the newspaper, &c. Boyle was in partnership with the widow until August following; they then dissolved their connexion, and Boyle returned to his former stand.

In 1775, Boyle sold his printing materials, but retained his bookstore, which he now, 1810, keeps in the same place.

### NATHANIEL DAVIS.

SERVED his apprenticeship with Daniel Kneeland; and, during the year 1772 and 1773, was in partnership with him;—soon after which he died. They had a small printing house, as has been observed, where Scollay's Buildings now stand, at the head of Court street.

They published a number of pamphlets, and did some work for booksellers. [*See Daniel Kneeland.*]

### NATHANIEL MILLS.

HE was born within a few miles of Boston, and served his apprenticeship with John Fleming.

Mills had just completed his time of service, when Fleming quitted business. John Hicks and Mills were nearly of an age, and they formed a co-partnership under the firm of

*Mills and Hicks.*

The controversy between Britain and her American colonies, at this period, assumed a very serious aspect, and government was disposed to enlist the press in support of the measures of the British ministry. Mills and Hicks were urged by the partizans of government to purchase Fleming's printing materials, and the right which Green and Russell had in the newspaper, entitled *The Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston Post Boy, &c.* They pursued the advice given them, and being by this purchase, furnished with types and with a newspaper, they opened a printing house in April 1773, in School-street, nearly opposite to the small church, erected for the use of the French protestants.\*

The British party handsomely supported the paper of Mills and Hicks, and afforded pecuniary aid to the printers. Several able writers defended the British administration from the attacks of their American opponents; and the selection of articles in support of government for this paper, as well as its foreign and domestic intelligence, displayed the discernment and assiduity of the compilers.

\* A number of separatists afterward purchased this church, and settled as their minister the rev. Andrew Crosswell. It was taken down a few years since.

Mills was a sensible, genteel young man, and a good printer; he had the principal management of the printing house. The newspaper was their chief concern; besides this, they printed, during the two years they were in Boston, only a few political pamphlets, and the *Massachusetts Register*. The commencement of hostilities, in April 1775, put an end to the publication of their *Gazette*.

Soon after the war began, Mills came out of Boston, and resided a few weeks at Cambridge; he then returned to Boston, where he and his partner remained until the town was evacuated by the British troops. They, with others who had been in opposition to the country, removed with the British army to Halifax, and from thence to Great Britain. After two years residence in England, they removed to New York, then in possession of the British troops.

In New York they opened a stationary store, and did some printing for the royal army and navy. They afterwards formed a partnership with Alexander and James Robertson, who published the *Royal American Gazette* in that city. The firm was *Robertsons, Mills and Hicks*.

This firm continued until peace took place in 1783. Mills and Hicks then returned to Halifax, Novascotia; but their partnership was soon after dissolved, and Mills went and resided at Shelburne, in that province,

## JOHN HICKS.

WAS born in Cambridge, near Boston, and served an apprenticeship with Green and Russell. He was the partner of Nathaniel Mills. [*For particulars respecting this company, see Nathaniel Mills.*]

Hicks, previous to his entering into partnership with Mills, was supposed to be a zealous young whig. He was reputed to have been one of the young men, who had an affray with some British soldiers, and which led to the memorable massacre in King street, Boston, on the 5th of March, 1770.

Interest too often biasses the human mind. The officers and friends of government at that time, unquestionably, gave encouragement to the few printers, who enlisted themselves for the support of the British parliament. Draper's Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, was the only paper in Boston, when, and for some time before, Mills and Hicks began printing, which discovered the least appearance of zeal in supporting the measures of the British administration against the colonies—and Draper was the printer to the governor and council.

The Massachusetts Gazette and Post-Boy, &c, printed by Green and Russell, was rather a dull recorder of common occurrences; its publishers, although encouraged by printing for the custom

house, and by other profitable work for government, did not appear to take an active part in its favor. The dispute with the parent country daily became more and more important; and it evidently appeared, that the administration deemed it necessary that there should be a greater number of newspapers zealously devoted to the support of the cause of Great-britain. It was therefore decided that Green and Russell should resign the printing of their Gazette to Mills and Hicks; and they were animated by extraordinary encouragement, to carry it on with spirit and energy in support of the royal cause. A number of writers, some of them said to be officers of the British army, were engaged to give new life and spirit to this Gazette. Mills and Hicks managed the paper to the satisfaction of their employers, until the commencement of the revolutionary war, which took place in two years after they began printing.

The father of Hicks was one of the first who fell in this war. When a detachment of the British troops marched to Concord to destroy the public stores collected there, by order of the provincial congress, Hicks's father was among the most forward to fly to arms, in order to attack this detachment on its return to Boston, after having killed a number of Americans at Lexington, and partially executed the design of the expedition to Concord; and, in the defence of his country, he lost his life.

Notwithstanding this sacrifice of his father on the altar of liberty, Hicks still adhered to the British, and remained with the royal army, supporting, as a printer, their cause, until a peace was concluded.

ed, by the acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States.

When the British army quitted Newyork, Hicks, with many other American loyalists, went with them to Halifax. After remaining there a few years, he returned to Boston. Having acquired a very considerable property by his business during the war, he purchased a handsome estate at Newtown, on which he resided until his death.

### JOSEPH GREENLEAF.

WAS a justice of the peace for the county of Plymouth, and lived at Abington, Massachusetts.

He possessed some talents as a popular writer ; and, in consequence, was advised in 1771, to remove into Boston, and write, occasionally, on the side of the patriots. He furnished a number of pieces for the Massachusetts Spy. These displayed an ardent zeal in the cause of American liberty ; and, in the then state of the popular mind, amidst many pungent, and some more elegantly written communications, they produced a salutary effect.

Not long after he came to Boston, a piece under the signature of Mucius Scævola, as has been already mentioned, appeared in the Massachusetts Spy, which attracted the attention of the governor and council of Massachusetts ; they sent for Thomas, the printer, but he did not appear before them. Greenleaf, who was suspected of being concerned

in the publication of that paper, was also required to attend in the council chamber; but, he did not make his appearance before this board. The council then advised the governor to take from Greenleaf his commission of a justice of the peace, as he "was generally reputed to be concerned with Isaiah Thomas in printing and publishing a newspaper called the *Massachusetts Spy*." Greenleaf was accordingly dismissed as a magistrate.

In 1773, Greenleaf purchased a press and types, and opened a printing house in Hanover street, near Concert hall. He printed several pamphlets, and "An Abridgment of Burn's Justice of the Peace."

In August, 1774, he continued the publication of *The Royal American Magazine*, begun by Thomas. The revolutionary war closed his printing business.

Greenleaf was not bred a printer; he had but little property, and set up a press at an advanced period of his life, as the mean of procuring a livelihood. A son of his, nearly of age, had learned printing of Thomas; this son\* managed his father's printing house, during the short time he carried on business.

He is now living, and is the oldest magistrate in Boston.

\* Thomas Greenleaf, afterward the publisher of a newspaper in Newyork.



## MARGARET DRAPER.

WAS the widow of Richard Draper. She published the ~~Massachusetts~~ *Gazette* and *Boston News Letter*, after his death. Boyle, who had been connected with her husband a short time before he died, continued the management of her printing house for about four months; and, during that time, his name appeared after Margaret Draper's in the imprint of the *Gazette*. At the expiration of this period, their partnership was dissolved.

Margaret Draper conducted the concerns of the printing house for several months, and then formed a connexion with John Howe, who managed the business of the company, agreeably to the advice of her friends, whilst she remained in Boston.

M. Draper printed for the governor and council; but the newspaper was the principal work done in her printing house.

A few weeks after the revolutionary war commenced, and Boston was besieged, all the newspapers, excepting her's, ceased to be published; and, but one of them, the *Boston Gazette*, was revived after the British evacuated the town. It is remarkable that *The News Letter* was the first and the last newspaper which was published in Boston, prior to the declaration of independence.

Margaret Draper left Boston with the British army, and went to Halifax; from thence, she soon

took passage, with a number of her friends, for England. She received a pension from the British government, and remained in England until her death, which took place a few years since.

## JOHN HOWE.

WAS born in Boston, and there served a regular apprenticeship at the printing business. His father was a reputable tradesman in Marshall's lane.

In the account given of Margaret Draper, mention was made that Howe became connected with her in publishing her Gazette, &c.

Howe had recently become of age, and was a sober, discreet young man; M. Draper, therefore, was induced, a short time before the commencement of the war, to take him into partnership; but his name did not appear in the imprint of the Massachusetts Gazette till Boston was besieged by the continental army.

Howe remained with his partner until they were obliged to leave Boston, in consequence of the evacuation of the town by the British troops in March 1776. He then went to Halifax, where he published a newspaper, and printed for the government of Novascotia. He is still in business at Halifax.

**SALEM.**

WAS the third place in the province of Massachusetts, in which a press was established. The first printing house was opened in 1768, by

**SAMUEL HALL.**

HE was born in Medford, Massachusetts, served an apprenticeship with his uncle, Daniel Fowle, of Portsmouth, and first began business in Newport, in 1763, in company with Anne Franklin.

He left Newport in March, 1768, opened a printing house in Salem in April following, and began the publication of *The Essex Gazette*, in August of that year. In three or four years after he settled in this town, he admitted his brother, Ebenezer Hall, as a partner. Their firm was

*Samuel and Ebenezer Hall.*

They remained in Salem until 1775. Soon after the commencement of the war, to accommodate the state convention and the army, they removed to Cambridge, and printed in Stoughton hall, one of the buildings belonging to Harvard university.

In February, 1776, Ebenezer Hall died, aged twenty seven years; he was an amiable young man, and a good printer; he was born in Medford, and was taught the art of Printing by his brother.

In 1776, on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, Samuel Hall removed into that town, and remained there until 1781, when he returned to Salem. He continued in Salem until November, 1785; at which time he again went to Boston, and opened a printing house, and a book and stationary store, in Cornhill.

In April, 1789, he began printing, in the French language, a newspaper, entitled, *Courier de Boston*. This was a weekly paper, printed on a sheet of crown in quarto, for J. Nancrede, a Frenchman, who then taught the language of his nation at the university; and, was afterward a bookseller in Boston; but his name did not appear in the imprint of the paper. "*Courier de Boston*," was published only six months.

After Hall relinquished the publication of a newspaper, he printed a few octavo and duodecimo volumes, a variety of small books with cuts, for children, and many pamphlets, particularly sermons.

Hall was a correct printer, and judicious editor. He was industrious, faithful to his engagements, a respectable citizen, and a firm friend to his country.

He died October 30, 1807, aged sixty seven years.

## EZEKIEL RUSSELL.

HAS been already mentioned. He removed from Boston to Salem in 1774, and opened, in Ruck street, the second printing house established in this place.

In the same year, he began the publication of a newspaper, but did not meet with success. He printed ballads and small books.

Having remained about two years in Salem, he removed to Danvers, and opened a printing house; from thence, about the year 1778, he returned with his press to Boston. [*See Boston—Portsmouth, &c.*]

## JOHN ROGERS.

WAS born in Boston, and served an apprenticeship there, with William Macalpine. He began the publication of a newspaper in Salem, at the printing house of Russell, who was interested in the paper; but it was printed only a few weeks.

After this failure in the attempt to establish a paper, I do not recollect to have seen Rogers's name to any publication. He did not own either press or types.

## MARY CROUCH.

THE widow of Charles Crouch, of Charleston, Southcarolina.

She left Charleston in 1780, a short time before that city was surrendered to the British troops; and she brought with her the press and types of her late husband. She opened a printing house in Salem, near the east church, where she published a newspaper for a short time. When she sold her press, &c. she removed to Providence, Rhodeisland, the place of her nativity, and there resided.



## NEWBURYPORT.

AT the request of several gentlemen, particularly the late rev. Jonathan Parsons, a press was first established in this town, in 1773, by

## ISAIAH THOMAS.

HE opened a printing house in King street, Newburyport, opposite to the Presbyterian church. This town was settled at an early period. In point of magnitude it holds the third rank, and it was the

fourth, where the press was established, in the colony. Thomas took as a partner, Henry Walter Tinges; the firm was

*Thomas and Tinges.*

Thomas continued his business in Boston, and Tinges had the principal management of the concerns at Newburyport. They here printed a newspaper, and in this work the press was principally employed.

Before the close of a year, Thomas sold the printing materials to Ezra Lunt, the proprietor of a stage, who was unacquainted with printing; but he took Tinges as a partner, and the firm of this company was

*Lunt and Tinges.*

They continued their connexion until the country became involved in the revolutionary war, soon after which Lunt transferred the press, and his concern in printing, to John Mycall. Tinges now became the partner of Mycall.

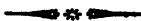
*Mycall and Tinges.*

This partnership ended in six months. The business was then conducted by Mycall, who soon became so well acquainted with it, as to carry it on, and continue it on a respectable footing, for about twenty years; when he quitted printing, and retired to a farm at Harvard, in the county of Worcester, from whence he lately removed, and now resides in Cambridgeport.

Tinges was born in Boston, his parents were Hollanders ; he served part of his apprenticeship with Fleming, and the residue with Thomas. He went from Newburyport to Baltimore, and from thence to sea, but never returned.

Lunt joined the American army, and finally removed to Marietta ; he was a native of Newburyport.

Mycall was not brought up to printing, but he was a man of great ingenuity. He was born at Worcester, in England ; and was a schoolmaster at Almsbury, at the time he purchased of Lunt. Some years after he began printing, his printing house and all his printing materials were consumed by fire. Those materials were soon replaced by a very valuable printing apparatus.



### *WORCESTER.*

THIS was the fifth town in Massachusetts in which the press was established.

In 1774, a number of gentlemen in the county of Worcester, zealously engaged in the cause of the country, were, from the then appearance of public affairs, desirous to have a press established in Worcester, the shire town of the county. In December of that year, they applied to a printer in Boston, who engaged to open a printing house, and to publish a newspaper there, in the course of the ensuing spring.



## ISAIAH THOMAS.

In consequence of an agreement with the gentlemen as before related, to send a press, with a suitable person to manage the concerns of it, to this town, he, in February 1775, issued a proposal for publishing a newspaper, to be entitled, "The Worcester Gazette; or, American Oracle of Liberty." The war commencing sooner than was expected, he was obliged to leave Boston, came himself to Worcester, opened a printing house, and on the 8d of May, 1775, executed the first printing done in this town.

Thomas remained at Worcester until 1776, when he let a part of his printing apparatus, and his newspaper, to two gentlemen of the bar, William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow, and with the other part removed to Salem, with an intention to commence business in that place; but, many obstructions to the plan arising in consequence of the war, he sold the printing materials which he carried to that town; and, in 1778, returned to Worcester, took into possession the press which he had left there, and resumed the publication of the Spy.

He received his types worn down, and found paper, wretchedly as it was then manufactured, difficult to be obtained; but, in a few months, he was fortunate enough to purchase some new types which were taken in a vessel from London. After some time, he also procured paper, which was superior in quality to what was generally manufactured at that

period ; and, thus he was enabled to keep his printing business alive whilst the war continued.

During two or three years he was concerned with Joseph Trumbull in a medicinal store.

On the establishment of peace, an intercourse was opened with Europe, and he procured a liberal supply of new printing materials, and engaged in book printing ; opened a bookstore, and united the two branches of printing and bookselling.

In September, 1788, he recommenced printing in Boston, and at the same time opened a bookstore there. At first, the business was managed by three partners, under the firm of *I. Thomas and Co.*—but one of the partners leaving the company, Thomas formed a copartnership with the other, Ebenezer T. Andrews, who had served his apprenticeship with him, and the house took the firm of *Thomas and Andrews*, which still continues.

In 1793, he set up a press, and opened a bookstore, at Walpole, Newhampshire, where he began the publication of a newspaper, entitled, *The Farmer's Museum*. This paper is still published.

In 1794, he opened another printing house and a bookstore at Brookfield, Massachusetts.

All these concerns were managed by partners, and distinct from his business in Worcester ; where he continued to reside, and to carry on printing and bookselling on his sole account. At Worcester, he also erected a papermill, and set up a bindery ; and was thus enabled to go through the whole process of manufacturing books.

In 1794, he and his partner at Boston extended a branch of their bookselling business to Baltimore.

The house there established was known by the firm of *Thomas, Andrews and Butler*; and, in 1796, they established another branch of their business at Albany, under the firm of *Thomas, Andrews and Penniman*, and there opened a printing house and bookstore.

The books printed by him at Worcester, and by him and his partners in other places, form a very considerable catalogue. At one time they had sixteen presses in use; seven of them at his printing house in Worcester, and five at the company's printing house in Boston. They printed three newspapers in the country, and a magazine in Boston; and they had five bookstores in Massachusetts, one in Newhampshire, one at Albany, and one at Baltimore.

Among the books which issued from Thomas's press at Worcester, were, in 1791, an edition of the Bible, in folio, with copperplates; and, an edition, in royal quarto, with a concordance. In 1793, a large edition of the Bible in octavo, and in 1797, the Bible in duodecimo. Of this last size, several editions were printed, as the types, complete for the work, were kept standing. In 1802, he printed a second edition of the octavo Bible.

Among the books printed by the company in Boston, were, The Massachusetts Magazine, published monthly, in numbers, for five years, containing five octavo volumes; five editions of The Universal Geography in two volumes octavo, and several other heavy works; also, the Bible in 12mo. numerous editions; the types for which were removed from Worcester to Boston.

In 1802, Thomas resigned the printing at Worcester to his son Isaiah Thomas, jun. and, soon after, transferred to him the management of the Massachusetts Spy. His son continues the publication of that paper, and carries on printing and bookselling.

[See *Boston—Newburyport—Hist. of Newspapers*, in vol. ii.]

## CONNECTICUT.

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**THERE** was no press in this colony until 1709; and, I believe, not more than four printing houses in it before 1775.

### *NEW LONDON.*

**THE** first printing done in Connecticut was in this town; forty five years before a press was established elsewhere in the colony.

### **THOMAS SHORT.**

**WAS** the first who printed in Connecticut. He set up his press in the town of New London in 1709. He was recommended by Bartholomew Green, who at that time printed in Boston, and from whom he, probably, learned the art of Printing.

In the year 1710, he printed an original work, well known in Newengland, by the title of "The Saybrook Platform of Church Discipline." This is said to be the first book printed in the colony. After the Platform he printed a number of sermons, and sundry pamphlets on religious subjects, and was employed by the governor and company to do the work for the colony.

He died at Newlondon, three or four years after his settlement there.

### TIMOTHY GREEN.

He has already been taken notice of, as the son of Samuel Green, jun. of Boston, and grandson of Samuel Green, senior, of Cambridge. He conducted a press in Boston thirteen years. Receiving an invitation from the council and assembly of Connecticut colony, in the year 1714, he removed to Newlondon, and was appointed printer to the governor and company, on a salary of fifty pounds per annum.\* It was stipulated that for this sum he should print the election sermons, proclamations, and the laws which should be enacted at the several sessions of the assembly.

Beside the work of government, Green printed a number of pamphlets on religious subjects, particularly sermons. It has been said of him, that whenever he heard a sermon which he highly ap-

\* Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

proved, he would solicit a copy of the author, and print it for his own sales. This honest zeal in the cause of religion often proved injurious to his interest. Large quantities of these sermons lay on hand as dead stock; and, after his decease, they were put into baskets, appraised by the bushel, and sold under the value of common waste paper.

He printed a revised edition of the laws, entitled, "Acts and Laws of his Majestie's Colony of Connecticut in New-England." Imprint—"New-London, Reprinted by Timothy Green, Printer to his Honour the Governour and Company. 1715." He published, also, an edition of the laws from 1715 to 1750.

As early as 1727, he printed Robert Treat's Almanack. The celestial signs for which were rudely cut on em quadrates, and raised to the height of the letter.

Some years before his death, he resigned his printing house and business to his son Timothy, who at the time was a printer in Boston, and the partner of Samuel Kneeland.

Green was a deacon of the church in New-London; and, as a christian, was held in high estimation. His piety was free from the gloominess and asperity of the bigot; he was benevolent in his heart, and virtuous in his life. He was of a very facetious disposition, and many of his anecdotes are handed down to the present time.

He died May 5, 1757, aged seventy eight years. He left six sons, and one daughter; the daughter died in Easthaddam in 1808; three of his sons were printers; the eldest, as before mentioned, suc-

ceded him; the second settled at Annapolis, in Maryland; and, the third was connected with his father; but died before him.

### SAMUEL GREEN.

THIRD son of Timothy Green, was born in Boston two years before his father left that town. He was taught printing by his father, and was for several years in partnership with him.

He died in May, 1752, at forty years of age; leaving three sons, who were printers, and of whom due notice will be taken in course.

### TIMOTHY GREEN, JUN.

Was born in Boston, and came to this place with his father, who instructed him in the art. He began printing in Boston, and was for twenty five years the partner of Samuel Kneeland, as has been related.

On the death of his brother Samuel, his father being aged, and unable to manage the concerns of the printing house, he closed his partnership with Kneeland; and, in compliance with his father's request, removed to New London. The whole business was resigned to him. He succeeded his father



as printer of the colony; and, at this time, there was not another printing house in Connecticut.

On the 8th of August, 1758, he published a newspaper. This was the second establishment of the kind in the colony.

After a life of industry, he died October 3, 1763, aged sixty years. He was amiable in his manners, and much esteemed by his friends and acquaintances. [*See Boston—Newspapers.*]

### TIMOTHY GREEN, *third of that name.*

WAS the son of Samuel Green, and nephew to the last mentioned Timothy. He was born in New-london, and was taught the art by his uncle, to whose business he succeeded.

The newspaper begun by his uncle was discontinued, and he established another, which is now published by his son.

In 1773, he set up a press in Norwich, in company with his brother in law; this press was afterward removed to Vermont.

Green was printer to the colony. In his profession, and as a citizen, he was respectable; a firm and honest whig, and he was attached to the federal constitution of the United States.

He died on the 10th of March, 1796, aged fifty nine years. He had eleven children, eight sons, and three daughters; two sons were printers, one of whom, Samuel, succeeded his father, and is now a

printer in Newlondon; the other settled at Fredericksburgh, Virginia, and, in 1787, first printed "The Virginia Herald." Two sons, by the name of Thomas and John, were booksellers and binders; another son, by the name of William, was an episcopal clergyman, who is now dead.



### *NEWHAVEN.*

THE second printing house, established in Connecticut, was in this town.

### JAMES PARKER AND COMPANY.

AT the commencement of the war between England and France, in 1754, Benjamin Franklin and James Hunter were joint deputy postmasters general for America. As the principal seat of the war with France, in this country, was to the northward, the establishment of a postoffice in Newhaven became an object of some consequence. James Parker, in 1754, obtained from Franklin the first appointment of postmaster in this place, associated with John Holt, who had been unfortunate in his commercial business, and was brother in law to Hunter.

Having secured the postoffice, Parker, who was then the principal printer at Newyork, sent a press to Newhaven at the close of the year 1754. The first work from his press was the laws of Yale college, in Latin. On the first of January, 1755, he published a newspaper.

Holt directed the concerns of the printing house and postoffice, in behalf of James Parker and Co. Parker remained at Newyork. Postriders were established for the army, and considerable business was done at the postoffice and printing house during the war.

Parker had a partner, named Weyman, in Newyork, who managed their affairs in that city until the year 1759, when the partnership was dissolved. This event made it necessary that a new arrangement should take place. Holt went to Newyork in 1760; took the direction of Parker's printing house in that city; and conducted its concerns.

The press and postoffice in this place were left to the agency of Thomas Green. Parker and Co. still remaining proprietors, and continuing their firm to the Gazette till 1764, when they resigned the business to Benjamin Mecom.

### BENJAMIN MECOM.

Who has been mentioned as a printer, first at Antigua, and afterward in Boston, removed to Newhaven in 1764, and succeeded Parker and Co. Franklin appointed him postmaster. He revived

the Gazette which had been discontinued, but did very little other printing.

He remained in this city until 1767, and then removed to Philadelphia. [*See Philadelphia, &c.*]

### SAMUEL GREEN.

WAS the third son of Samuel Green, and grandson of the first Timothy Green, both printers in Newlondon, where he was born. He was taught printing by his uncle Timothy, who succeeded his father and grandfather, in Newlondon.

Samuel Green was the successor of Mecom, at Newhaven in 1767. He was joined by his brother Thomas, from Hartford, and they became partners, under the firm of

#### *Thomas and Samuel Green.*

The newspaper, which was begun by Parker and Co. and continued by Mecom, had again been discontinued. These brothers established another.

Their partnership remained until dissolved by the death of Samuel, one of the parties, in February 1799, aged fifty six years,

After the death of Samuel, the son of Thomas became a partner with his father, under the firm of

#### *Thomas Green and Son.*

This son was also named Thomas. The establishment continued ten years.

In 1809, a nephew of Richard Draper, Thomas Collier, who had been a printer at Litchfield, was connected with Green and his son; but the same year, Thomas Green, the father, retired from business. On this occasion he published a very affectionate and pathetic address to the public.

The newspaper established in this place, by Thomas and Samuel Green, is now printed by Eli Hudson.



### *HARTFORD.*

It is only forty six years since printing was first introduced into Hartford.

### **THOMAS GREEN.**

Who has been recently mentioned as the partner of Samuel Green in Newhaven, was born at Newlondon. He was the eldest son of Samuel Green, printer, in that place. His father dying, during the early part of his life, he was instructed in printing by his uncle.

Green first commenced printing in Hartford, in 1764. Until this time Newlondon and Newhaven, were the only places in the colony, in which presses

had been established. He began the publication of a newspaper which was the third printed in Connecticut; he remained in this town till 1767, then removed to Newhaven, and there went into a partnership with his brother. Previous to his leaving this town, he formed a connexion with Ebenezer Watson, who conducted the press two years under the firm of

*Green and Watson.*

Thomas Green is now, 1810, living in Newhaven, aged about 71; he is a great, great grandson of Samuel Green who printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Frederick Green, printer of the Maryland Gazette, at Annapolis, is from the same stock, and is also a great, great grandson of the same Samuel Green.

Samuel Green, printer of the Connecticut Gazette at Newlondon, and Thomas Green, jun. late one of the publishers of the Connecticut Journal, at Newhaven, are of the sixth generation of the name of Green, who have been printers in this country, being great, great, great grandsons of Samuel Green of Cambridge.

**EBENEZER WATSON.**

**SUCCEEDED** Thomas Green, in Hartford, from whom he learned printing. He continued the newspaper established by Green. Publishing this paper

was his principal employment, and he became its proprietor at the close of the year 1769.

It does not appear that Watson was a thorough taught printer, although he practised the art ten years.

He died September 16, 1777, aged thirty three years. He was remarkable for his humanity, anxious for the safety of his country, then contending for its independence, and devoted his press to her cause. He was an ensign in the governor's company of cadets. This company attended his funeral; and he was buried with military honors.

Watson's widow continued the Connecticut Courant in company with George Goodwin, until she married B. Hudson.

Goodwin served his apprenticeship with Watson, and is a correct printer. Hudson was not bred a printer, but came into the business by marrying the widow of Watson. Goodwin became the partner of Hudson, and they are now very respectable printers under the firm of *Hudson and Goodwin*.



## NORWICH.

THIS is the fourth town in Connecticut where a press was established before the revolution. Two printing houses were opened in this place in the same year.

## GREEN and SPOONER.

**TIMOTHY GREEN** the third, printed in New-london. **Judah Paddock Spooner** was his brother in law, and served his apprenticeship with him.

Green took Spooner into partnership, furnished press and types, and they opened a printing house in Norwich in 1773. Spooner, by agreement, managed the concerns of the firm. Their business not answering their expectations, after the trial of a few years, they removed their press to Westminster in Vermont.

## ROBERTSONS and TRUMBULL.

**ALEXANDER** and **JAMES ROBERTSON** were sons of a respectable printer in Scotland. I have mentioned them at Albany, where they began and prosecuted printing for several years.

**JOHN TRUMBULL** was, I believe, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts; he served an apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland in Boston. Trumbull entered into partnership with the Robertsons, and in 1773, they opened a second printing house in Norwich, and soon after published a newspaper.

This company was not dissolved until the British troops took possession of the city of Newyork in 1776. The Robertsons were royalists; and,



soon after that event, they left Norwich, and went to Newyork.

Trumbull remained at Norwich, and continued printing. He differed in his politics with his partners, one of whom, James, had been in the political school of Mein and Fleming of Boston ; for whom he worked two or three years as a journeyman ; but, politics apart, James was a worthy man, and a very good printer. Of Alexander I had no knowledge ; but I have been informed that he was, unfortunately, deprived of the use of his limbs, and incapacitated for labor. He was, however, intelligent, well educated, and possessed some abilities as a writer.

Trumbull was an honest, well meaning man, and attached to his country. His printing was chiefly confined to his newspaper, and small articles with which he supplied country chapmen. He died in August 1802, at the age of fifty two years.

## RHODEISLAND.

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PRINTING was introduced into Connecticut about twenty two years before a press was established in Rhodeisland. There were but three printing houses in the colony before 1775, and only two newspapers.

Gregory Dexter, a printer in London, was the correspondent of the celebrated Roger Williams the founder of Providence. Dexter printed, in England, in 1643, Williams's "Key to the Language of the Indian Natives of Narraganset," and the first "Almanack for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England." Soon after, Dexter quitted printing, left his native country, and joined Williams in Providence, where he became a distinguished character in the colony. He was one of the parties named in the charter, and for a number of years one of the assistants, under the authority granted by that charter. He was one of the first town clerks, and wrote an uncommonly good hand; possessed handsome talents; and had been well educated. From him descended the respectable family of the Dexters in Rhodeisland.

It is said that after Samuel Green began printing at Cambridge, Dexter went there, annually, for several years, to assist him in printing an almanack.\*

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### NEWPORT.

THE press was first established in this town in the year 1732 ; and was the only one in the colony till 1762.

### JAMES FRANKLIN.

It has been stated that Franklin was the publisher of The New-England Courant. Soon after that paper was discontinued, he removed from Boston, with his printing materials, to Newport, and there set up his press in a room "under the Town School-House." He did some printing for government, published a newspaper a few months, and an Almanack annually.

He was the first who printed in Rhodeisland ; but only published a few pamphlets and other small articles, beside those mentioned above. He died in February, 1735. [*See Boston.*]

\* MS. papers of the late president Stiles, of Newhaven.

## ANNE FRANKLIN.

THE widow of James Franklin succeeded her husband. She printed for the colony, supplied blanks for the public offices, and published pamphlets, &c.

In 1745, she printed, for government, an edition of the laws, containing three hundred and forty pages folio. She was aided in her printing by her two daughters, and afterward by her son, when he attained to a competent age. Her daughters were correct and quick compositors at case; they were instructed by their father whom they assisted. A gentleman who was acquainted with Anne Franklin and her family, informed me, that he had often seen her daughters at work in the printing house, and that they were sensible and amiable women.

## JAMES FRANKLIN, JUN.

THE son of James and Anne Franklin, was born in Newport; as soon as he was of age, he became the partner of his mother, and conducted their concerns in his own name.

He began printing about the year 1754, published The Mercury in 1758, and died August 22, 1762.

After his death, his mother resumed the business; but soon resigned the management of it to

Samuel Hall, with whom she formed a partnership, under the firm of

*Franklin and Hall.\**

This firm was of short duration; it was dissolved by the death of Anne Franklin, April 19, 1763, at the age of sixty eight.

They printed an edition of the laws, in folio, which was completed about the time that Anne Franklin died.

SAMUEL HALL.

AFTER the death of his partner, Hall printed in his own name.

An account of him has already been given among the printers of Massachusetts. He remained here five years, continued the publication of the Mercury, and found considerable employment for his press.

In March, 1768, he resigned the printing house in Newport to Solomon Southwick, and removed to Salem, Massachusetts. [*See Salem.*]

\* Anne Franklin's brother in law, the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, who then printed in Philadelphia, had, at that time, a partner by the name of Hall; and the firm in Philadelphia was likewise Franklin and Hall.

## SOLOMON SOUTHWICK.

WAS born in Newport, but not brought up to the business of printing. He was the son of a fisherman; and, when a lad, assisted his father in selling fish in the market place. The attention he paid to that employment; the comeliness of his person, and the evidences he gave of a sprightly genius, attracted the notice of the worthy Henry Collins, who, at that time, was said to be the most wealthy citizen in Newport, one of the first mercantile characters in Newengland, and greatly distinguished in the colony of Rhodeisland for philanthropy and benevolence. Mr. Collins took a number of illiterate boys, whose parents were poor, under his patronage; and, gave each an education suited to his capacity; several of whom became men distinguished in the learned professions. Among the objects of his care and liberality was young Southwick, who was placed at the academy in Philadelphia, and there provided for till he had completed his studies. Mr. Collins then established him, as a merchant, with a partner by the name of Clarke.

Southwick and Clarke did business on an extensive scale; they built several vessels, were engaged in a trade to London and elsewhere; but, eventually, they became bankrupts, and their partnership was dissolved.

After this misfortune, Southwick married a daughter of colonel John Gardner, who for several years had been governor of the colony; and, by this marriage, he became possessed of a handsome estate.

About this time Samuel Hall, who had a desire to leave Newport and remove to Salem, offered his printing establishment for sale. Southwick became the purchaser in March, 1768, and succeeded to the business of Hall; he continued the publication of the Newport Mercury, and made some attempts at book printing. He published, for his own sales, several small volumes; but, the turbulence of the times checked his progress in this branch of printing.

Southwick discovered a sincere and warm attachment to the interest of the country; he was a firm whig; a sensible and spirited writer; and, in other respects was qualified to be the editor of a newspaper, and the conductor of a press in times of revolutionary commotion.

The severity of the British government, to the province of Massachusetts particularly, was manifested by several acts of parliament which were passed in 1774. By one of these acts, the people were deprived of many of their chartered rights and privileges. By another, the port of Boston was shut, and the transaction of every kind of commercial business on the waters of this harbor, was interdicted. These arbitrary edicts aroused the indignation of the people in all the colonies. They loudly expressed their resentment in various ways; and,

the press became the organ through which their sentiments were energetically announced.\*

Southwick was among the number of printers, who were not backward to *blow the trumpet* in our Zion, and to *sound an alarm in the holy mountain* of our liberties. He wrote and printed an address to the people of Rhodeisland, which was headed with the motto—"JOIN OR DIE!" This motto had appeared in several of the newspapers, as will be mentioned hereafter. In this appeal, Boston was represented as in a state of siege; which was actually true; for the harbor was completely blockaded by ships of war, and a large number of troops were quartered in the town. It was also further stated, that these measures of the British government were a "direct hostile invasion of all the colonies." The address was concluded by observing, that "the generals of despotism are now drawing the lines of circumvallation around our bulwarks of liberty, and nothing but unity, resolution and perseverance, can save ourselves and posterity from what is worse than death—Slavery."

Southwick, by his publications and exertions in the cause of the country, became very obnoxious to those who were of the opposite party; and he, with other zealous whigs, were marked as objects for punishment. When the British fleet and army took possession of Newport in 1776, he barely eluded

\* The history of those times has been ably delineated by our historians, Ramsay, Marshall, Bancroft, Gordon, Warren, &c. to whose writings I refer the reader; as a history of political events does not come within the scope or plan of this work.



the threatened evil. As soon as a part of the army had landed, detachments of both horse and foot were sent into all parts of the town to arrest the patriots, who were endeavoring to effect an escape. Southwick, his wife, with a child in her arms, and some other persons, had got on board an open boat, and were just putting off from the shore, into a very rough sea, occasioned by a high wind, when a party of soldiers who were in pursuit of them, came in sight. Southwick's wife had a brother who was a royalist; and, as such, was known to the British officers; he, however, wished to secure the retreat of his sister and her husband. Aware of their danger, this brother put himself in the way of their pursuers; and, for a few moments, arrested their attention, by giving them information of the several parts of the town whence the proscribed whigs would probably attempt to make their retreat, &c. This friendly interference gave Southwick and his friends time to get a few rods from the shore before the party arrived at the spot they had just quitted. The boat was yet within reach of their shot. The soldiers fired at them, but without effect. The passengers fortunately received no injury, and were soon wafted to a place of safety.

Southwick was, at this time, a member of the general assembly of Rhodeisland. He owned two new houses in Newport; these, with other property which he left at that place, were destroyed. He sought an asylum in Attleborough, on the frontier of Massachusetts, and there erected a press; but being soon after appointed commissary general of

issues for the state of Rhodeisland, he removed to Providence.

As soon as the British troops evacuated Newport, he returned to that town, and resumed the publication of his newspaper, which he continued till the year 1787, when, by ill health, and embarrassed circumstances, he was obliged to relinquish business, and to place the Mercury in other hands.

His pecuniary concerns were greatly impaired by the rapid depreciation of the paper currency, before the establishment of peace. He, like many others, cherished a belief that the nominal sum, specified in the bills, would eventually be made good in specie. The impracticability of the thing was not considered, even when one hundred dollars in paper would purchase but one of silver. The delusion was not discovered by some till they found themselves involved in ruin. The government of the union were indebted to Southwick both for his services and for money loaned. This debt, like others of the kind, was liquidated by notes known by the name of final settlement. In the course of some months after they were issued, they were sold in the market for one eighth part of their nominal value. To this depreciated state was national paper reduced, before the assumption of the public debt by the new government ; and, when it was in that state, Southwick was compelled to sell his final settlement notes, for the support of himself and family. He was engaged in the cause of his country in the times of her adversity and danger, but he had no portion of the benefits resulting from her prosperity. Assailed by poverty, and borne down by infirmity, he lived in

obscurity, from about the year 1788 to the time of his death ; and, being unable to provide for his children, he left them to make their own way in the world.

He lost his wife, who was an excellent woman, in 1783 ; and, he " went the way of all the earth," December 23, 1797, aged sixty six years.

His son, who bears his name, settled at Albany. He has for many years been the publisher of *The Albany Register* ; and, was lately the sheriff of the " city of Albany and the colonie."



## *PROVIDENCE.*

For many years, the principal part of the trade of the colony was carried on at Newport ; at length Providence rose to eminence and became the successful rival of Newport. Printing was introduced here in 1762.

## **WILLIAM GODDARD.**

THE son of doctor Giles Goddard, postmaster at Newlondon, in Connecticut, was the first who established a printing press in Providence.

Goddard served his apprenticeship with James Parker, printer in Newyork. He opened a printing house in this place in 1763, and soon after published a newspaper; there was at that time but one other paper printed in the colony, viz. at Newport; yet, after a trial of several years, Goddard did not meet with such encouragement as to induce him to continue his Gazette. He left his printing house, &c. in the care of his mother, and sought for himself a more favorable place of residence.

On leaving Providence, he was for a short time concerned with Holt, in Newyork, in publishing Parker's Gazette and Post-Boy; and, as a silent partner, drew a share of the profits. After the repeal of the stamp act, in 1766, he went to Philadelphia, and there printed a newspaper, &c.

I shall have occasion again to mention Goddard, who was in business several years in Philadelphia; and, afterward, at Baltimore where he finished his professional labors.

As a printer he was ingenious and enterprising; he made several strong efforts to acquire property, as well as reputation; but, by some means, his plans of business frequently failed of success. He was most fortunate in his concerns for a few years after the termination of the war. At length, he supposed that he had become possessed of a competency to carry him through life, "without hard rubbing." In this apprehension, he quitted business, returned to Newengland, and resided several years on a large farm near Providence, of which he is the proprietor.

He now lives in Providence, on the means furnished him by his former enterprises.

Major general Charles Lee, an officer in the American army during the revolutionary war, owned a landed estate in Berkeley county, Virginia, and left by will one third part of this estate to Goddard and Eleazar Oswald, to whom he professed himself to have been under obligations.

Few could conduct a newspaper better than Goddard; he was a capable editor, and his talents were often drawn into requisition. He, like many others, was a laborious agent in the cause of his country, and in many instances where he had neither honor nor profit for his reward. When the loaves and fishes were to be divided, aspiring, interested, nominal patriots, crowded him into the back ground, and his services were in a great measure forgotten.

Goddard, however, received from the postmaster general the appointment of comptroller of post roads; and, in this instance, fared better than many others, whose public services were never rewarded by any office whatever, either of profit or honor. This is agreeable to the German proverb, *Einer pflantzet den baum, und der andere isset die æpfel*—"one plants the tree, and another eats the apple." There is always a host who stand ready to push after and receive the benefits of an enterprise, who never partook of the dangers by which it was effected.

[See *Philadelphia—Baltimore—Newspapers.*]

## SARAH GODDARD.

THE mother of William Goddard, was the daughter of Lodowick Updike, whose ancestors were among the first settlers of Rhodeisland, and her brother was for some years attorney general of the colony. She received a good education; acquired an acquaintance with several branches of useful and polite learning, and married doctor Giles Goddard of Newlondon, who left her a widow.

After her son had been a few years in business, she became his partner; he left the management of the printing house and newspaper to her, and she conducted them with much ability for about two years, when John Carter supplied the place of her son; the firm was then

### *Sarah Goddard and Company.*

She resigned the business to Carter in 1769, removed to Philadelphia the same year, and died there in January, 1770. [*See Newspapers in vol. ii.*]

## JOHN CARTER.

WAS born in Philadelphia, and served his apprenticeship with Franklin and Hall, in that city. He was the partner of Sarah Goddard from 1766, to

1768 inclusive ; and, in 1769, he became the successor of William and Sarah Goddard, and proprietor of the Providence Gazette.

For more than twenty years his printing house was "at Shakespeare's Head, opposite to the Court House."

He was postmaster before the revolution, and for many years subsequent to it. He is well acquainted with the art which he practises, and the productions of his press exhibit evidence of a good and correct workman.

He was a staunch supporter of the cause of our country, before its independence ; and, since this important event took place, he has not lost sight of her best interests. His printing house is now near the bridge, and opposite to the market, where he prosecutes printing, in the same accurate manner, for which he has been remarkable more than forty years.

## JOHN WATERMAN.

Was bred a seamen, and became the master of a vessel. Preferring the mechanic arts, he left the pursuits of commerce, and built a paper mill two miles from Providence, which probably was the first erected in the colony.

In 1769, he purchased the press and types which were, for many years, owned and used by Samuel Kneeland of Boston ; with these he opened a printing house near his paper mill, but made little use of them.

## NEWHAMPSHIRE.

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THE printing for this colony was executed in Boston, Massachusetts, until 1756. Only two printing houses were opened in Newhampshire, before the year 1775, and one of these had, for several years, been shut. The productions of the press were few ; the largest work printed was, the laws of the province.

### *PORTSMOUTH.*

ALTHOUGH this place was the capital of the colony, and had been settled a long time ; yet, no means had been used to introduce printing into it, until about the year 1755, when several of the influential inhabitants exerted themselves for this purpose ; and, in the year following, the press was established here, at which was executed the first printing done in Newhampshire.



## DANIEL FOWLE.

Who had been arrested and imprisoned in Boston, on a charge of having published a libel against the government of Massachusetts, was, as has been stated, solicited by several gentlemen in Portsmouth, and, afterward, encouraged by the government, to set up a press in that town. He accordingly removed from Boston to Portsmouth in July 1756, and soon after published a newspaper.

Fowle did but little at book printing, his principal business consisted in publishing the newspaper. He was appointed printer to the government, and the laws, &c. were issued from his press.

In September 1764, he took his nephew, Robert Fowle, as his partner. The firm of the company was

*Daniel and Robert Fowle.*

They remained together until 1774, when they separated, and Robert soon after removed to Exeter.

D. Fowle continued in business until his death, but he did not acquire much property. He married into a very respectable family in Boston, some years before he removed from that town, but he had no children. He received the commission of a magistrate a short time after he settled at Portsmouth.

He was a correct printer, and industrious. In his disposition he was pacific, agreeable in his manners, liberal in his sentiments, and attached to the cause of his country.

He died in June 1787, aged 72 years. [*See Boston—Hist. Newsp.*]

### THOMAS FURBER.

Was born in Portsmouth, and served his apprenticeship with D. Fowle.

Some zealous whigs, who thought the Fowles were too timid in the cause of liberty, or their press too much under the influence of the officers of the crown, encouraged Furber to set up a second press in the province; he, in consequence opened a printing house in Portsmouth, toward the end of 1764, and soon after published a newspaper. In 1765, he received as a partner Ezekiel Russell. Their firm was

#### *Furber and Russell.*

Excepting the newspaper, they printed only a few hand bills and blanks. The company became embarrassed; and, in less than a year, its concerns terminated; and the partnership was dissolved.

Upon the dissolution of the firm, the press and types were purchased by the Fowles. Furber became their journeyman, and Russell went to Boston.

Furber had been taught plain binding; he undertook to connect it with printing; and, although he was not very skilful, either as a printer or as a binder, he began the world under favorable circumstances; and, had he been attentive to his affairs,

he might have been successful ; he was good natured and friendly, but naturally indolent ; and, like too many others, gave himself up to the enjoyment of a companion, when he should have been attending to his business.

He died in Portsmouth many years since, and left a widow and several children.



### *EXETER.*

A DIFFERENCE in the political sentiments of D. and R. Fowle, printers and copartners at Portsmouth, was the cause of their separation in 1774 ; and, probably, the means of the establishment of a press in Exeter.

### ROBERT FOWLE.

WAS the son of John Fowle, who was several years a silent partner with Rogers and Fowle in Boston, and, afterward, an episcopal clergyman at Norwalk in Connecticut.

He served his apprenticeship with his uncle, at Portsmouth ; and, when of age, became his partner, as has been mentioned. This copartnership being

ended, they divided their printing materials. Robert, who was neither a skilful nor a correct printer, took the press and types which had been used by Farben, and settled at Exeter.

He did some work for the old government; and, in 1775, some for the new. He made several attempts to establish a newspaper; and, in 1776, began one, which he published more than a year.

The new paper currency of Newhampshire had been printed by Fowle, and it was counterfeited; suspicion rested on him as having been concerned in this criminal act; he was a royalist, and fled within the British lines in Newyork. By this step the suspicion which might not have been well founded, was confirmed. Thus ended the typographical career of Robert Fowle.

With other refugees from the United States, he was placed upon the British pension list. Some time after the establishment of peace, he returned to this country, married the widow of his younger brother, who had succeeded him at Exeter, and resided in Newhampshire until he died. Robert Fowle had very respectable connexions,

*Notes,*  
TO VOLUME I.

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[a] Page 63.

THIS Bible is now in a good state of preservation; there is not a leaf lost or torn; and it is, I believe, in its original plain binding; the covering is leather over thick boards of hard wood, shaped to the work. By a written certificate on a spare leaf at the end of the volume, it appears that this copy was sold to a clergyman ninety six years after it was printed. The certificate was probably made by the son and apprentice of a bookseller, named Sadler, and is as follows—“I that have written my name hereunder sold this booke to Edmund Reeve, Clarke, for 49<sup>s</sup> and I warrant unto him, that it is perfect, but if here findeth that any leafe is wanting, I will either supply it, or retorne the 49<sup>s</sup>. March 15th, 1696. [Signed] George Sadler, servant to Laurence Sadler.”

[b] Page 69.

**CODEX ARGENTEUS.** This title signifies the silver, or silvered, book. The work which bears this name is considered as one of the greatest curiosities in Europe. It exhibits a degree of perfection in the operations of the scribes, which, when we consider the remoteness of the period wherein the work was executed, cannot fail to inspire us with admiration and surprise. Many of the greatest literary characters are of opinion, that it is about fourteen hundred and fifty years old. Those who contend for its being a later production, admit that it may justly claim an antiquity of twelve hundred and forty years. It was discovered anno 1597, in the Benedictine abbey

of Werden, and afterwards carried to Prague. Count Koenigsmark, who took Prague in 1648, discovered this work, and sent it, among the literary spoils, and other plunder, of that city, to the queen of Sweden. To those who have not seen any account of these ancient remnants of the Bible, the following extract from Rees's *Cyclopaedia* will be interesting.

"Codex Argenteus, in biblical history, is so called, from its silver letters; it is a manuscript of the four gospels, and is supposed to be a copy of the Gothic version made by Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths, in the fourth century. It is of a quarto size; the leaves, which are vellum, parchment or papyrus, are stained with a violet colour; and on this ground, the letters which are all capitals, were afterward painted in silver; except the initial characters, and a few passages in gold. Mr. Coxe, from a close inspection, was convinced, that each letter was painted, and not formed, as some have asserted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and silver. Most of the silver letters are become green by time; but the golden letters are still in good preservation. This codex is mutilated in several places; but what remains is, for the most part, perfectly legible. It was first discovered in 1597, in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Werden, in Westphalia, whence it was brought to Prague, and at the capture of this city in 1648, sent as a valuable present to Christina of Sweden. It afterward came into the hands of Isaac Vossius, either by stealth, or as a present from the queen; and on the death of Vossius, it was purchased by Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie for two hundred and fifty pounds, and presented to the university of Upsal, where it now remains. Three editions of it have been given to the public; the first was issued at Dort, in 1665, by T. Junius, who borrowed the MS. from Vossius; and accompanied with observations and a glossary, by Thomas Marshall. That printed at Amsterdam in 1672, is the same with this, having only a new title page, date and place of impression. The second edition, published at Stockholm, in 1672, by the learned Stiernhelm, differs from that of Junius, by having the text in Latin, and not in Gothic characters. Benzeliuss, first librarian of the university of Upsal, and afterwards archbishop, collat-

ed the MSS. rectified mistakes, and made a literal translation into the Latin tongue. These collations and translations, together with various observations, were transmitted to Mr. Edward Lye, of Oxford, who published a third edition in 1750, from the Clarendon press; this is esteemed by those who have compared it with the original codex, a complete work. Two opinions have divided the learned concerning the original tongue of the codex argenteus; the first opinion, that it is written in the language and character used in the fourth century by the Goths of Mœsia, ancestors of the present Swedes, and is a true copy of the version made by Ulphilas, is strongly supported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius and Lye. The second opinion, viz. that it is a translation in the Frankish idiom, is as warmly defended by Hickes, la Croze, Wetstein, and Michaelis. Mr. Coxe inclines to the former opinion, which is confirmed in an ingenious treatise of Ihre; by which it appears, that several specimens of the Ostrogothic tongue have been lately discovered in Italy, which perfectly resemble both the characters and language of the version in the codex argenteus. However this be, as the Gothic and Frankish idioms were dialects of the Teutonic or German, this MS. must be considered as the most ancient specimen extant of that language. Those who attribute the version to Ulphilas, refer its date to the fourth century; and those who deem it to be a Frankish translation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Childeric, between 564 and 587. Besides, its high antiquity is proved from the doxology at the end of the Lord's prayer, Matth. vi. 13, which is not found in any of the most ancient versions; and, also, from the interpretation of many passages in a similar manner with several of the Latin translations which are antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerome. Another fragment of this curious MS. containing a few chapters of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbuttle, and is now preserved in the library of that town. Of this fragment Ihre published a new and important edition at Upsal, in 1763." Cyclo. vol. 2.—See also, Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh. vol. ii. p. 133—153.—Coxe's Travels, vol. 4.—Carr's Northern Summer.

[c] Page 120.

IT is commonly expected that writers should give definitions of their terms, or explain the etymology of words which relate to any art or science of which they may treat; but etymology is one of the most difficult of all the branches of literature—and although the term *Printing* is, comparatively, modern, it is not more easily explained than many other words which have an older root, or a much higher origin. The silence of authors respecting the etymology of the term *τυπωισμο*, induced me to attempt discovering whence it arose. I cannot find that it was used in the English, or any other language, in the precise sense we use it now; though the idea of marked, or spotted, or having marks imprinted on any thing may be contained in the English word "*gestreint*," used by Chaucer, and other old authors, who wrote before the invention of printing. The Germans, Dutch, Italians, French, &c. frequently used words derived from the Greek verb *τυπωω*, signifying that the book was impressed. One of the oldest printed books in my possession, dated in 1476, expresses the operation by which it was made thus, "*Explicit biblia impressa*," &c. The Dutch verb *Drucken*, which seems to have been adopted into the English language, was, probably, derived from the Latin verb *premo*, to press. Among the Greeks the word *τυπωσις* appears to have been formed from the verb *τυπωω*, and signified *inculpare* to engrave or impress; *nota impressa vel inculcata aut inscripta*. The Greek *τυπωον*, also stands for *sculpo*, *imprimo*. It is certain from the writings of Moses, and other ancient records, that the art of engraving was known in the earliest or most remote ages of antiquity. We read of the signet of Judah, [Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25] before the time of Moses; and, it is easy to trace through the successive ages of the world, the custom of using signets, seals, or rings, to make particular impressions in wax, which rendered the writings of men in authority valid and binding, in the same manner as the hands and seals of those who now make contracts are set to their writings. We may, therefore, conclude that the ancients had words to convey the ideas which these



acts created. Although what is now emphatically called printing was not known to them, they could make impressions, or marks, or prints of various descriptions; and, notwithstanding, the word translated "*printed*," in Job xix, 23, was not intended to convey the idea we now receive from it; yet, perhaps, the kind of impression, there alluded to, could not be better expressed than by our word *printed*. Thus the Romans by the participle *fressus* conveyed the idea of imprinted, or marked, as is evident from the *Æterna res ea fressa nota* of Ovid. The participle *impressus*, means the same thing, as is evident from Virgil, *Cratera impressum signis*; and the verb active *imprimo*, is found in Horace, *Imprimat his, cura, Mæcenæ signa tabellis*. The verb *impressio*, may also be found in Cicero's *impressionem sensere*, &c. Here we find nearly all the technical terms in the Greek and Latin languages; and we may perceive, to go no higher, that the Dutch verb *Printen*, and ours to print, are derived from the Latin *imprimo*.

While on the subject of etymology, I will remark, that our words type, typography, and graving, are wholly derived from the Greek τυπός, a seal, or stamp, and γράφω, or γράφω, to grave, or imprint. The *stylus scriptorius*, *graphium*, or graving tool, they called γραφῖον, or γραφή. The Greeks used the terms γραφεὺς, γραφαί, γραφήνισαι, γράφειν, γραφεῖς, γραφικῶς, γραφίς, &c. which are descriptive of the various branches of writing, graving, &c. The implements the ancients used in writing are mentioned Jer. xvii. 1. *The sin of Judah is written with a PEN OF IRON, and with the POINT OF A DIAMOND; it is GRAVEN upon the table of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars.*

[d] Page 132.

IT is worthy of observation that this workman was sent for from Holland, during the time that the civil war raged in England, between the houses of York and Lancaster. The whole kingdom was engaged in this dreadful contest from 1459 to 1471, during which period the arts could neither flourish or be attended to. It may be supposed, that king Henry and the archbishop had matters of more importance to

attend to than printing; and the story of the king's sending for a "Printing Mould," though not impossible, is, on this account, rendered more improbable. During this sanguinary war, Henry VI and Edward IV, were twice crowned and twice dethroned, and peace was not restored until the murder of Henry in 1471. What became of the printer is not known, as no account is given of him after he was sent to Oxford. Probably he left the country before the war ended, or he might have been put to death by the rabble; among whom the art of Printing does not appear to have been popular when it first became publicly known; for Shakespeare, in his Henry VI, part second, scene seventh, introduces the rebel, John Cade, as thus upbraiding the lord treasurer Say—"Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in creating a grammar school; and whereas before, our fathers had no book but the score and tally, thou hast caused PRINTING to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill."

Even admitting that a book was printed at Oxford, as stated in what is called the Lambeth House record, without the name of the printer, who is acknowledged to have been no more than a servant to the archbishop, yet Caxton may still be called "*the Father of the English Press.*" He, with much difficulty and address, procured that printer and sent him to England; he, afterward, became acquainted with the new method of printing with metal types, provided himself with a printing apparatus, and when the civil war subsided, went to England, and publicly established his press at Westminster. He printed in his own name, under the patronage, not only of the abbot of that diocese, but of the royal family. At that time there was no other printer in England, nor had there been any who printed with metal types. If the historians of that day, and those who succeeded them, can be credited, Caxton was the first printer known in England; as they all acknowledge him to have been the *first* person who practised printing in that country.

[c] *Page 180.*

AS the account given by the reverend dr. Buchanan, in the appendix to his sermon, entitled, *The Star in the East*, of the discovery lately made in the interior of India, of 200,000 Christians, among whom were found engravings and manuscripts of very ancient date—is highly interesting, I have made from it the following extract, viz.

“ About the middle of November, 1805, Dr. Buchanan proceeded from the sea coast into the interior of the country, northeast from Quilon, to visit the ancient Syrian churches, situated amongst the low hills at the bottom of the high Ghauts, which divide the Carnatic from Malayala. The face of the country in general, in the vicinity of the mountains, exhibits a varied scene of hill and dale, and winding streams. These streams fall from the mountains, and preserve the valleys in perpetual verdure. The woods produce pepper, cardamoms, and cassia, or wild cinnamon; also frankincense and other aromatic gums. What adds much to the grandeur of the scenery in this country is, that the adjacent mountains of Travancore are not barren, but are covered with teak forests, producing the largest timber in the world.

“ The first view of the Christian churches, in this sequestered region of Hindostan, connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the old parish churches in England; the style of building in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof being exposed to view, are ornamented; and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular and fretted. In the cathedral churches, the shrines of the deceased bishops are placed on each side of the altar. Most of the churches are built of a reddish stone, squared and polished at the quarry; and are of durable construction, the front wall of the largest edifices being six feet thick. The bells of the churches are cast in the foundries of Travancore. Some of them are of

large dimensions; and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malayalim. In approaching a town in the evening, the sound of the bells may be heard at a distance amongst the hills; a circumstance which causes the British traveller to forget for a moment that he is in Hindostan, and reminds him of another country. When dr. Buchanan arrived at the remote churches, he was informed by the inhabitants that no European had, to their knowledge, visited the place before. The Romish priests do not travel thither, there being no church of their communion in that quarter.

“The number of Syrian churches is greater than has been supposed. There are, at this time, fifty five churches in Malayala, acknowledging the Patriarch of Antioch. The church was erected by the present bishop, in 1793.

“The Syrian Christians are not Nestorians. Formerly, indeed, they had bishops of that communion; but the liturgy of the present church is derived from that of the early church of Antioch, called *Liturgia Jacobi Apostoli*. They are usually denominated *Jacobita*; but they differ in ceremonial from the church of that name in Syria, and indeed from any existing church in the world. Their proper designation, and that which is sanctioned by their own use, is *Syrian Christians*, or *The Syrian Church of Malayala*.

“The doctrines of the Syrian church are contained in a very few articles; and are not at variance in essentials, with the doctrines of the church of England. Their bishops and metropolitan, after conferring with his clergy on the subject, delivered the following opinion: “That an union with the English church, or at least such a connexion as should appear to both churches practicable and expedient, would be a happy event, and favorable to the advancement of religion.” It is in contemplation to send to England some of the Syrian youth, for education and ordination.

“The present bishop, Mar Dionysius, is a native of Malayala, but of Syrian extraction. He is a man of respectable character in his nation, and exercises himself in the pious discharge of the duties of his high office. He is now seventy eight years of age, and possesses a venerable aspect, his white beard

descending low to his girdle. On public occasions he wears the episcopal mitre; and is robed in a white vestment, which covers long garments of red silk; and, in his hand he holds the pastoral staff. The first native bishop was ordained by the Romish church in 1663; but he was of the Romish communion. Since that period, the old Syrians have continued, till lately, to receive their bishops from Antioch; but that ancient patriarchate being now nearly extinct, and incompetent to the appointment of learned men, the Christian church in Malayala looks henceforth to Britain for the continuance of that light which has shone so long in this dark region of the world.

“From information given by the Syrian Christians, it would appear that the churches of Mesopotamia and Syria, (215 in number) with which they are connected, are struggling with great difficulties, and merely owe their existence to some deference of their antiquity. There are two circumstances which invite us to turn our eyes to the country of “the first generation of men.” The tolerant spirit of the Wahabian Mahomedans, is a fair prognostic; and promises to aid our endeavors to restore to an ancient community of Christians the blessings of knowledge and religious liberty. Another favorable circumstance is, that some of the churches in Mesopotamia, in one of which the Patriarch of Antioch now resides, are said still to remain in their pristine state, and to have preserved their archives and ancient manuscript libraries. A domestic priest of the patriarch, now in Cochin, vouches for the truth of this fact. We know, from authentic history, that the churches between the rivers escaped the general desolation of the Mahomedan conquest, in the seventh century, by joining arms with the Mahomedans against the Greek Christians, who had been their oppressors. The revival of religion and letters in that once highly favored land, in the heart of the ancient world, would be, in the present circumstances of mankind, an auspicious event.

“The Syrian Christians in Malayala still use the Syriac language in their churches; but the Malayalim, or proper Malabar, (a dialect distinct from the Tamul) is the vernacular

tongue. They have made some attempts to translate the Syriac scriptures into Malayalim; but have not hitherto had the suitable means of effecting it. When a proposal was made of sending a Malayalim translation to each of their fifty five churches, as a standard book, on condition that they would transcribe it, and circulate the copies among the people—the elder replied, That so great was the desire of the people in general, to have the Bible in the vulgar tongue, that it might be expected that every man *who could write*, would make a copy on *ollas*, (palm leaves) for his own family.

“It ought to be mentioned, to the praise of the present bishop of the Romish church on the coast of Malabar, that he has consented to the circulation of the Scriptures throughout his diocess. The Malayalim translation acquires, from this circumstance, an increased importance, since there will be now upwards of 20,000 Christians in Malayala who are ready to receive it. The translation of the New Testament, (which it is proposed to print first) has already commenced, under the superintendence of the Syrian bishop. The true cause of the low state of religion amongst the Romish churches on the sea coast and in Ceylon, is *their want of the Bible*. All who are well acquainted with the natives, know that instruction *by books* is best suited to them. They are in general a contemplative people, and patient in their inquiries; curious also to know what it can be that is of importance enough to be *written*—at the same time that they regard written precept with respect. If they possess a book in a language which they understand, it will not be left long unread. In Tanjore, and other places where the Bible is freely given, the Protestant religion flourishes; and produces the happiest effects on the character of the people. In Tanjore, the Christian virtues will be found in exercise by the feeble minded Hindoo, in a vigor and purity which will surprise those who have never known the native character but under the greatest disadvantages. On the Sunday, the people, habited in their best apparel, repair to the parish church, where the solemnity of their devotion in accompanying the public prayers, is truly impressive. They sing the old Psalm tunes well; and the voice of the full con-

gregation may be heard at a distance. Prayers being ended, they listen to the sermon, evidently with deep attention; nor have they any difficulty in understanding it, for they almost all, both men and women, can read their Bible. Many of them take down the discourse on *ollas*, that they may read it afterwards to their families at home.\* As soon as the minister has pronounced the text, the sound of the *iron style* on the palm leaf is heard throughout the congregation. Even the boys of the schools have their *ollas* in their hands; and may be seen after divine service reading them to their mothers, as they pass over the fields homewards.

"When the Syrian Christians understood that the proposed Malayalan translation was to accord with the English Bible, they desired to know on what *authorities* our translation had been made; alleging, that they themselves possessed a version of undoubted antiquity, namely, that used by the first Christians at Antioch; and that they could not depart from the reading of *that* version. This observation led to the investigation of the ancient Syrio Chaldaic manuscripts in Malayala; and the inquiry has been successful beyond any expectation that could have been formed.

"It had been commonly supposed, that all the Syriac manuscripts had been burned by the Romish church at the Synod of Udiampar, near Cochin, in 1599, but it now appears that the most valuable manuscripts were not destroyed. The inquisitors condemned many books to the flames; but they saved the Bible. They were content with ordering that the Syriac scriptures should be amended agreeably to the reading of the Vulgate of Rome; and these emendations now appear in black ink, and of modern appearance, though made in 1599. But many Bibles, and many other books were not produced at all; and the churches in the mountains remained but a short time subject to Romish dominion, (if indeed they can be said to have been at any time subject to it) for the native govern-

\* It is well known that the natives of Tanjore and Travancore can write down what is spoken deliberately, without losing one word. They seldom look at their *ollas* while writing, and can write in the dark with fluency.

ments have ever formed a barrier between the inquisition at Goa and the Christians in the mountains.

“In the acts of the council at Nice, it is recorded that Joannus, Bishop of India, signed his name at that council, A. D. 325. This date corresponds with the Syrian year 636; for the primitive Syrian church does not compute time from the Christian æra, but from Alexander the Great. The Syriac version of the scriptures was brought to India, according to the belief of the Syrians, before the year 636; and they allege that their copies have ever been exact transcripts of that version without known error, through every age, down to this day. There is no tradition among them of the churches in the southern mountains having ever been destroyed, or even molested. Some of their present copies are certainly of ancient date. Though written on a strong thick paper, like that of some MSS. in the British Museum, commonly called *Eastern paper*, the ink has, in several places, eaten through the material in the exact form of the letter. In other copies, where the ink had less of the corroding quality, it has fallen off, and left a dark vestige of the letter, faint indeed, but not, in general, illegible. There is one volume found in a remote church of the mountains, which merits particular description. It contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed on strong vellum in large folio, having three columns in the page; and is written with beautiful accuracy. The character is Estrangelo Syriac; and the words of every book are numbered. This volume is illuminated; but not after the European manner, the initial letters having no ornament. Prefixed to each book there are figures of principal scripture characters (not rudely drawn) the colors of which are distinguishable; and in some places, the enamel of the gilding is preserved; but the volume has suffered injury from time or neglect, some of the leaves being almost entirely decayed. In certain places the ink has been totally obliterated from the page, and has left the parchment in its natural whiteness; but the letters can, in general, be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. The Syrian church assigns to this manuscript a high antiquity; and alleges that it



has been for some centuries in the possession of their bishops; and, that it was industriously concealed from the Roman inquisition in 1599. But its true age can only be ascertained by a comparison with old manuscripts in Europe of a similar kind. On the margin of the drawing are some old Roman and Greek letters, the form of which may lead to a conjecture respecting the age in which they were written. This copy of the scriptures has admitted as canonical the epistle of Clement, in which respect it resembles the Alexandrian manuscript. But it has omitted the Revelations—that book having been accounted apochryphal by some churches during a certain period in the early ages. The order of the books in the Old and New Testament differs from that of the European copies—this copy adhering less to unity of subject in the arrangement, than to chronological order. The very first emendation of the Hebrew text proposed by Dr. Kennicott, Gen. iv. 8. is to be found in this manuscript. The disputed passage in 1 John, v. 7, is not to be found in it; that verse is interpolated in some other copies in black ink, by the Romish church, in 1599.

“ Thus it appears that during the dark ages of Europe, while ignorance and superstition in a manner denied the Scriptures to the rest of the world, the Bible found an asylum in the mountains of Malayala; where it was revealed and freely read by upwards of 100 churches; and, that it has been handed down to the present time under circumstances so highly favorable to accurate preservation, as may justly entitle it to respect, in the collation of doubtful readings in the sacred text.

“ There are many old Syriac manuscripts besides the Bible, which have been well preserved; for the Synod of Udiampar destroyed no volumes but those which treated of religious doctrine or church supremacy. Two different characters of writing appear ever to have been in use among the Syrian Christians—the common Syriac and the Estrangelo. The oldest manuscripts are in the Estrangelo.

“ But there are other ancient documents in Malayala, not less interesting than the Syrian manuscripts. The old Por-

tuguese historians relate, that soon after the arrival of their countrymen in India, about three hundred years ago, the Syrian archbishop of Angamalee, by name Mar Jacob, deposited in the fort of Cochin for safe custody, certain tablets of brass; on which were engraven rights of nobility and other privileges, granted to the Christians by a prince of a former age; and that while these tablets were under the charge of the Portuguese, they had been unaccountably lost, and had never after been heard of. The loss of the tablets was deeply regretted by the Christians; and the Portuguese writer, Gouvea, ascribes their subsequent oppressions by the native powers, to the circumstance of their being no longer able to produce their charter. It is not generally known that, at a former period, the Christians possessed regal power in Malayala. The name of their last king was Beliarthe. He died without issue; and his kingdom descended, by the custom of the country, to the king of Cochin. When Vasco de Gama was at Cochin, in 1503, he saw the sceptre of the Christian king.

“It is further recorded by the same historians, that besides the documents deposited with the Portuguese, the Christians possessed three other tablets, containing ancient grants, which they kept in their own custody; and that these were exhibited to the Romish Archbishop Menezes, at the church of Tevelecar, near the mountains, in 1599—the inhabitants having first exacted an oath from the archbishop that he would not remove them. Since that period little has been heard of the tablets. Though they are often referred to in the Syrian writings, the translation itself has been lost. It has been said that they were seen about forty years ago; but Adrian Moens, a governor of Cochin, in 1770, who published some account of the Jews of Malabar, informs us, that he used every mean in his power for many years to obtain a sight of the Christian plates; and was at length satisfied they were irrecoverably lost; or rather, he adds, that they never existed.

“The learned world will be gratified to know, that all these ancient tablets, not only the three last mentioned exhibited in 1599, but those also (as is supposed) delivered by the Syrian archbishop to the Portuguese, on their arrival in India,

which are the most ancient, have been recently recovered by the exertions of Lieutenant Colonel Macauley, the British resident in Travancore; and are now officially deposited with that officer.

“ The plates are six in number. They are composed of a mixed metal. The engraved page on the largest plate is thirteen inches long by about four broad. They are closely written; four of them on both sides of the plate, making in all eleven pages. On the plate reputed to be the oldest, there is writing perspicuously engraved in nail headed, or triangular headed letters, resembling the Persepolitan or Babylonish. On the same plate there is writing in another character, which has no affinity with any existing character in Hindostan. The grant on this plate appears to be witnessed by four Jews of rank, whose names are distinctly written in an old Hebrew character, resembling the alphabet, called *The Palmyrene*; and to each name is prefixed the title of *Magen*; that is, Chief.

“ It may be doubted, whether there exists in the world another document of equal antiquity, which is, at the same time, of so great a length, and in such faultless preservation as the *Christian Tablets* in Malayala. The Jews of Cochin, indeed, contest the palm of antiquity and of preservation; for they also produce tablets, containing privileges granted at a remote period. The Jewish tablets are two in number. The Jews were long in possession of a third plate, which now appears to be the property of the Christians. The Jews commonly show an ancient Hebrew translation of their plates. Dr. Leyden made another translation; which differs from the Hebrew: And there has lately been found among the old Dutch records at Cochin, a third translation, which approaches nearer to Dr. Leyden's than to the Hebrew. In a Hebrew manuscript, which will shortly be published, it is recorded that a grant, on brass tablets, was given to the Jews, in A. D. 379.

“ As it is apprehended that there may be some difficulty in obtaining an accurate translation of all these tablets, it is proposed to print a copperplate *fac simile* of the whole, and to transmit copies to the learned societies in Hindostan and in

Europe; for this purpose an engraver is now employed on the plates, at Cochin. The Christian and Jewish plates together will make fourteen pages. A copy has been sent, in the first instance, to the Pundits of the Shanscrit College, at Trichiur, by direction of the Rajah of Cochin.

“ When the White Jews of Cochin were questioned respecting the ancient copies of their Scriptures, they answered, that it had been usual to *bury* the old copy read in the synagogue, when decayed by time and use. This does not, however, appear to have been the practice of the Black Jews, who were the first settlers; for in the record chests of their synagogues, old copies of the law have been discovered; some of which are complete; and, for the most part, legible. Neither could the Jews of Cochin produce any historical manuscripts of consequence, their vicinity to the sea coast having exposed their community to frequent revolution; but many old writings have been found at the remote synagogues of their ancient enemies, the black Jews, situated at Tritoea, Pareor, Chenotta, and Maleh; the last of which places is near the mountains. Amongst these writings are some of great length, in Rabbinical Hebrew; but in so ancient and uncommon a character, that it will require much time and labor to ascertain their contents. There is one manuscript written in a character resembling the Palmyrene Hebrew, on the brass plates; but it is in a decayed state; and the leaves adhere so closely to each other, that it is doubtful whether it will be possible to unfold them, and preserve the reading. It is sufficiently established by the concurring evidence of written record and Jewish tradition, that the black Jews had colonized on the coasts of India, long before the Christian era. There was another colony at Rajapoor, in the Mahratta territory, which is not yet extinct; and there are, at this time, Jewish soldiers, and Jewish native officers in the British service. That these are a remnant of the Jews of the first dispersion at the Babylonish captivity, seems highly probable. There are many other tribes settled in Persia, Arabia, Northern India, Tartary and China, whose respective places of residence may be easily discovered. The places which have been al-

ready ascertained, are sixty five in number. These tribes have in general, (particularly those who have passed the Indus) assimilated much to the customs of the countries in which they live; and may sometimes be seen by a traveller, without being recognized as Jews. The very imperfect resemblance of their countenance to the Jews of Europe, indicates that they have been detached from the parent stock in Judea, many ages before the race of Jews in the west. A fact corroborative of this is, that certain of these tribes do not call themselves *Jews*, but *Beni-Israel*, or *Israelites*; for the name *Jew* is derived from Judah; whereas the ancestors of these tribes were not subject to the kings of Judah, but to the kings of Israel. They have, in most places, the book of the Law, the book of Job, and the Psalms; but know little of the prophets. Some of them have even lost the book of the law; and only know that they are Israelites from tradition, and from their observance of peculiar rites.

"A copy of the Scriptures, belonging to the Jews of the east, who might be supposed to have no communication with the Jews in the west, has been long a *desideratum* with Hebrew scholars. In the coffer of a synagogue of the black Jews, in the interior of Malayala, there has been found an old copy of the law, written on a roll of leather. The skins are sewed together, and the roll is about fifty feet in length. It is in some places worn out, and the holes have been patched with pieces of parchment.

"Some of the Jews suppose that this roll came originally from Senna, in Arabia; others have heard that it was brought from Cashmir. The Cabul Jews, who travel annually into the interior of China, say, that in some synagogues, the law is still found written on a roll of leather; not on vellum, but on a soft flexible leather, made of goat skins, and dyed red; which agrees with the description of the roll above mentioned.

"Such of the Syriac and Jewish manuscripts as may, on examination, be found to be valuable, will be deposited in the public libraries of the British universities.

"The princes of the Deccan have manifested a liberal regard for the extension of Sanscrit learning, by furnishing

lists of the books in their temples for the college of Fort William, in Bengal.

“ His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore was pleased to set the example, by giving the voluminous catalogue of the ancient library of the kings of Tanjore; and his example has been followed by the Ranny of Ramnad, patroness of the celebrated temple of Ramisseram, near Adam’s Bridge; by his Highness the Rajah of Travancore, who has given lists of all the books in the Travancore country; and by the Rajah of Cochin, patron of the ancient Shanscrit college, at the temple of Trichiur. It is understood that a copy of any book in these catalogues will be given when required. The Bramins of Travancore consider that their manuscripts are likely to have as just a claim to high antiquity, or at least to accurate preservation, as those in the temples in the north; and for the same reason that the Christian and Jewish records have been so well preserved; which is, that the country of Travancore, defended by mountains, has never, according to tradition, been subjugated by invaders from the north of Hindostan.

“ The design of investigating the history and literature of the Christians and Jews in the East, was submitted to the Marquis Wellesley, before he left India. His lordship judging it to be of importance that the actual relation of the Syrian Christians to our own church should be ascertained, and auguring something interesting to the republic of letters, from the investigation of the Syriac and Jewish antiquities, was pleased to give orders that public aid should be afforded to Dr. Buchanan, in the prosecution of his inquiries, wherever it might be practicable. To the operation of these orders, it is owing that the proposed researches, of which some slight notices are given above, have not been made in vain.”

[f] *Page 199.*

Extracts from M. de St. Mery’s History of St. Domingo.

“ Columbus died at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506. His body was carried to Seville, and there deposited; and not in the convent of the Carthusians, on the other side of the Gua-

dalquiver, as some authors, and especially Oviedo and Zuniqua have asserted. It was placed before the choir, in the cathedral, under a stone, on which were engraven these miserable verses, in Castilian, and which are still legible.

A Castilla y Arragon,  
Otro Mondo Dio Colon.

“ The historians tell us, that from this place it was conveyed to Santo Domingo, and there lodged in the cathedral but they do not mention the date of the removal. The proceedings of a synod held in 1683, of which there are still some copies existing, in speaking of the cathedral church of Santo Domingo, remark, that on the outside of the steps of the great altar, repose, in two leaden coffins, one on the right hand side, the other on the left, the remains of Christopher Columbus, and his brother.

“ As whatever relates to Columbus, must necessarily be in the highest degree interesting, and especially to those who write on the island of Saint Domingo, I was extremely anxious to procure certain information concerning his sepulchre in this cathedral; and for this purpose I applied to Don Joseph Solano, admiral in the Spanish service, and commanding the fleet then lying at Cape Francois. The obliging disposition of the admiral, the particular proofs I had before received of his inclination to serve me, his having lately been president of the Spanish part, and his intimate connexion with Don Isidore Peralta, who had succeeded him in the presidency, all seemed to promise me an efficacious and successful recommendation. In consequence of my application, Don Joseph Solano, wrote in the most pressing manner, and I shall here transcribe the answer of the president Don Isidore Peralta.

“ *Santo Domingo*, 29th March, 1783.

“ My Dearest Friend and Patron,

“ I received your Lordship's kind letter of the 18th instant, the answer to which I have kept back till now, in order to have time to get the desired information relative to the sepulchre of Christopher Columbus, and to enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of serving your lordship to the best of my power, and to enable you to experience on your part, that of obliging the friend who has requested you to collect this information.

“ With respect to Christopher Columbus, though the insects destroy the paper in such a manner that the archives are full of holes, I hope that I now send your lordship sufficient proof that the remains of Christopher Columbus are enclosed in a leaden coffin, surrounded with a case of stone, which is buried on the gospel side of the sanctuary; and that those of Don *Bartholomew*, his brother, are interred in the same manner, on the epistle side of the sanctuary. Those of Christopher Columbus were brought hither from Seville, where they had been deposited in the family vault of the dukes of Alcala, after being conveyed from Valladolid, and where they remained till removed to the cathedral where they now are.

“ About two months ago, as some repairs were making in the church, a piece of thick wall was taken down, and built up again immediately after. This accidental event was the occasion of finding the stone case above mentioned; and which, though without inscription, was known from uninterrupted and invariable tradition, to contain the remains of Columbus. Besides this, I caused search to be made, to see if there was not, in the ecclesiastical archives, or in those of the government, some document, capable of throwing light on the subject; and, in consequence, the canons have upon examination found that the bones were in great part reduced to ashes; but that the principal bone of the arms had been distinguished.

“ I send your lordship also, the list of all the bishops that have ever belonged to this island, which is a more valuable curiosity, than that of the presidents; for, as I am well assured, the former is complete, while in the latter there are several chasms, produced by the insects already mentioned, which are more destructive to some papers than to others.

“ As to the edifices, the churches, the beauty of the streets, the motives that led to the removal of the capital to the western bank of the river, that forms its port, I also send you some interesting particulars; but with respect to *the plan asked for in the note*, there is an insurmountable difficulty; which is, that as governor, I am forbidden to communicate it. The superior understanding of your lordship will at once perceive the reason.



"The following certificates sent by Don Isidore Peralta, are now in my possession, perfect in all their forms.

"I, Don Joseph Nunez, de Caseres, doctor of divinity in the pontifical and royal university of the Angelic St. Thomas Aquinas, dean dignitary of this holy church metropolitan and primate of the Indies; do certify that, the sanctuary of this holy cathedral church, being taken down on the 30th of January last, in order to be rebuilt, there was found on the side of the choir, where the gospel is sung, and near the door which opens on the stairs, leading to the capitular chamber, a stone case, hollow, of a cubic form, and about a vare\* in depth, enclosing a leaden urn a little damaged, which contained several human bones. I also certify that some years ago, on a like occasion, there was found on the epistle side, another stone case, resembling the one above described; and that, according to the tradition handed down, and communicated by the old men of the country, and by a chapter of the synod of this holy cathedral church, the case found on the gospel side, is reputed to contain the remains of admiral Christopher Columbus, and that found on the epistle side, those of his brother; not being able to verify, however, whether the latter be really the remains of his brother Don Bartholomew, or of Don Diego, son of the admiral. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand. Done at Santo Domingo, this 20th day of April, 1783.

(Signed) D. JOSEPH NUNEZ DE CASERES."

"I, Don Manuel Sanchez, Canon, Dignitary, and Chanter of this holy cathedral church, do certify, &c. [*word for word as in the preceding certificate.*] Done at Santo Domingo, this 26th day of April, 1783.

(Signed) MANUEL SANCHEZ."

"I, Don Pedro de Galvez, Preceptor, Canon, Dignitary, of this cathedral church, Primate of the Indies; do certify that the sanctuary being taken down, in order to be rebuilt, there was found on the side of the choir, where the gospel is sung, a stone case, with a leaden urn, in the inside of it, a little damaged, which contained several human bones; also, that it

\* About two feet eight inches, English measure.

is remembered that there is another of the same description on the epistle side; also, that according to a tradition handed down through the old people of the country, and a chapter of the synod of this holy cathedral church, the case found on the gospel side, contains the remains of admiral Christopher Columbus, and that found on the epistle side, those of his brother Bartholomew. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this 26th day of April, 1783.

(Signed) Don PEDRO DE GALVEZ."

"I must, however, observe here, that Don Antonio d' Alcedo assures us in his entertaining and useful dictionary, under the word *America*, that the following epitaph was placed in some part of the cathedral:

'Hic locus abscondit præclari membra Columbi

Cujus nomen ad astra volat.

Non satis unus erat sibi mundus notus, at orbem

Ignotum priscis omnibus ipse dedit;

Divitias summas terras dispersit in omnes;

Atque animas cœlo tradidit innumeras;

Invenis campos divinis legibus aptos,

Regibus et nostris prospera regna dedit.'

But this epitaph does not now exist, and it is even forgotten in the colony.

"A synod, held an hundred and forty three years after the perfection of the metropolitan church, makes mention, indeed, of the remains of Christopher Columbus being deposited in that edifice; but without entering on any explanation, although it ought to have been recollected that the pillage of Drake, forty seven years before, had caused the destruction of the archives, and that the insects alone might have annihilated many important pieces."

[g] Page 226.

At a County Court held at Cambridge, April 1, 1656.

Jn<sup>o</sup>. Glover\* Gent. Plant. against Mr. Henry Dunster Deff<sup>r</sup>. in an actōn of the case for an acct. of an estate of houses,

\* He studied physic, became a practitioner, married, and settled in Boston.

Lands, goods, and chattels, debts, Legacies, and gifts, or other estate, together with the deeds, leases, and other manusscripts, and evidences thereof, w<sup>ch</sup> by any manner of wayes or means, eyther have been (or at p<sup>r</sup>ent bee) in the possession of the said Henry, or under his rule, costody or dispose. And of right due and belonging unto the said Jn<sup>o</sup>. Glover, by the last will and testament of his father Mr. Josse Glover deceased, or Elizabeth his wife, or their, or eyther of their gifts, or by the last will of W<sup>m</sup>. Harris deceased or otherwise to him the said Jn<sup>o</sup>. Glover appteyning and of right due and belonging by any manner of wayes or means whatsoever, and, also for debteyn- ing and with-holding the same, viz<sup>t</sup>. both the account and estate, with the effects and proffits thereof and damages to the said Jn<sup>o</sup>. Glover thereby susteyned.

The Plantiffe appeared by his Attorneyes Edw. Goffe, and Thomas Danforth, The Deff<sup>t</sup>. appeared personally and plead- ed to the case, The Court having heard the Pl<sup>t</sup>'s demands and the proffe thereof, and Mr. Dunster's acknowledgm<sup>ts</sup> and Answ<sup>rs</sup> wch are upon file with the Records of this Court, the Jury findes for the plantiffe, as appeareth by their verdict given into Court in writeing (wch is also upon y<sup>e</sup> file) theis following p<sup>t</sup>ic<sup>rs</sup>.

Imp <sup>or</sup> . The Inventory as it is brought in	140 00 00
It. The Presse and the p <sup>f</sup> itt of it	040 00 00
It. The prise of Mr. Dayes house	030 00 00
It. Debts received by Mr. Dunster	143 00 00
It. More debts received by Mr. Dunster	015 00 00
It. Rec <sup>d</sup> . of Mr. Humpheries	080 00 00

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It. The plate mentioned in the Inventory	448 00 00
It. more acknowledged in the Court by Mr. Dunster one silver tankard, and one tipt Jug, and a silver plate.	
It. one watch.	
It. acknowledged by Mr. Dunster 12 Rheam of refuse paper.	
It. The profit of the houses and lands in Cam- bridge	177 10 00.

It. Given by Mr. Harris	050 00 00
It. Household stuffe at Sudbury	005 00 00
It. The house in Boston sold to Theodore Atkinson	200 00 00
It. Rent received for the farme at Sudbury six years	060 00 00
It. the Rent of the stocke of 15 Kine	087 10 00
It. the prise of eight steers and bulis and fiften kine	118 15 00
It. for the rent received for the farme at Sudbury seven yeares	042 00 00
It. the rent of meadow	010 00 00
It. two swine	002 00 00
	<hr/>
It. Lead pans	722 15 00
	448 00 00
	<hr/>
	1170 15 00

- It. the farme that Robert Wilson now occupieth to be Mr. Glover's.
- It. all the Bookes of Mr. Glover's that came to Mr. Dunster, whereof he promised to give in a Cattelogue.
- It. the farme that Goodman Rice now occupieth to be Mr. Glover's.
- It. that Mr. Dunster shall give to the Court, an account according to the attachm<sup>t</sup> when the Honoured Court shall require it.

Charles Chadwicke in the name of the rest.

Execution granted June 17, 1656.

The Court orders that Mr. Dunster shall bring in his full account to the Court the 9th of May next.

[*Midd. Records, Vol. I. p. 77, &c.*]

At a second Sessions of the County Court held at Cambridge, 9th (3) mo. 1656.

In the case between Jn<sup>o</sup>. Glover Plant. against Mr. Henry Dunster Deft<sup>r</sup>. entered at the last sessions of this Court, Mr. Henry Dunster presented his ans<sup>w</sup> to the Juries verdict in writing, containing his account under his hand, also a Cattel-

issue of the bookes, with some other testimonies in reference to the case, all w<sup>ch</sup> are upon file with the Records of the last Court, whereupon the Plaintiffe not being satisfied with the accounts presented, The Court advised both parties to endeavour a peaceable composition of the whole buisness, eyther between themselves or by able men Indifferently chosen between them.

[*Midd. Records, Vol. 1, p. 83.*]

At a County Court held at Charles-Towne June 19th, 1656.

Mr. Henry Dunster Pl. against Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Glover Deft. in an action of Review of the suite upon attachm<sup>t</sup> to the vallue of two thousand pounds comenced and prosecuted in the last County Court holden at Cambridge, by the said Jn<sup>o</sup> or his attorneyes for accounts and estate pretended to be with-held by the said Henry from the said Jn<sup>o</sup>. As also for the auditing the accounts, according to the advice of the Honoured Magistrates, and for the ballancing, settling, and satisfying what upon the said Accounts is right and just to be done, according to attachm<sup>t</sup> dated 12th 4th mo. 1656.

The Jury found a non liquet.

[*Midd. Records, Vol. 1. p. 83.*]

At a County Court held at Cambridge, by adjournment, June 24th, 1656.

Mr. Henry Dunster [sometimes husband to Elizabeth the relict widow of Josse Glover deceased] Plant. ag<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Glover Gent. Deft. In an action of the case for debt upon accounts, and for rights and interests in any wise appertayneing to the said Henry from the estate now claimed by the said Jn<sup>o</sup> Glover by vertue of the last will of his father Josse Glover deceased.

The Plaintive and Deft<sup>r</sup> appearing in Court legally, They mutually agreed to referre this case to the Hearing and determination of the honoured Bench of Magistrates. The Courts determination and judgm<sup>t</sup> in the said case is as followeth.

Whereas there hath been some actions and suites of debt, account, and review, in this Court, between Jn<sup>o</sup> Glover Gent. And Henry Dunster his father in Law and Guardian, concerning the estate, under his managem<sup>t</sup>. belonging to the said John Glover by the will of his father Josse Glover deceased, The premises considered, and the parties consenting to issue

the whole case, included in the former actions; and judgment to the determination of this Court. The Court having taken paynes to examine all matters explicitly in reference to the whole case, doe find the estate of Josse Glover is Creditor, One thousand foure hundred forty and seaven pounds, nine shillings and nine pence, and a silver tankard in kinde, also Mr. Glover's bookes according to Cattologue given in to the Court, to be delivered in kinde, also the price of a house at Hingham that was received of Payntree at fifteen pounds.

And the estate, is also justly debtor, one thousand three hundred and thirty pounds, one shilling and seven pence, the particulars whereof are expressed in an account hereunto annexed.

The Court therefore do find for John Glover, one hundred and seventeen pounds, eight shillings and two pence, due from Henry Dunster, according to the account, leaving some debts explicitly expressed in the account to the vallue of fifty seaven pounds eleven shillings foure pence to be further cleared by the said Henry before any credit be given him for it.

Also we find for Mr. Henry Dunster the lands in Sudbury bounds, purchased by the said Henry called the farme now in the occupation of Wilson.

1656. June 25. The Account in reference to the aforementioned case, being drawn up and examined by the Honoured Court is as followeth.

Mr. Henry Dunster is debtor	£. s. d.
Imp <sup>o</sup> . To plate	030 12 03
To a tipt Jugg and a watch	006 06 06
To rents of land in Cambr <sup>sc</sup> whiles in Blower's hands	040 00 00
To rents rec <sup>d</sup> of John Stedman for ditto	070 00 00
To rent of ditto rec <sup>d</sup> of Richard French	012 00 00
To rent rec <sup>d</sup> for marsh land all the time	015 15 00
To rent of the slate house all the time	019 14 04
To the house and land at Boston sold Mr. Atkinson	214 00 00
To a Legacy given Jn <sup>o</sup> . Glover by his uncle Harris	040 00 00

To utensils at Sudbury five pounds	005 00 00
To rent of fourteen Cows six yeares, at 15 <sup>s</sup> pr. cow	063 00 00
To rent of seaven oxen 6 yeares at 20 <sup>s</sup> pr. ox	042 00 00
To the stocke fourteen cows and seven oxen	118 16 00
To rent for meadow	010 00 00
To two swine	002 00 00
To one lead pan sould for	001 02 06
To sale of Bookes	026 10 00
To so much rec <sup>d</sup> of Mr. Tho <sup>s</sup> Fowle	099 11 04
To rents from Boston and Cambridge	049 06 08
To advance upon the Inventory	020 00 00
To advance upon plate	002 17 06
To so much disbursed in building and other things upon Henry Dunster's land in Sud- bury bounds	050 00 00
To the Inventory in Goodes	140 00 00
To printing presse and paper	050 00 00
To Mr. Dayes house sold for	030 00 00
To debts rec <sup>d</sup> of severall persons £73 and of Pea- cock and Sill £8	081 00 00
To so much received of Mr. Humphery	071 04 09
To plate and other things that I had <i>vices et mo- dics</i> , by gift of my wife, not yallued	073 16 11
To plate and bedding for Mr. Harris and Simon Smith	025 00 00
To paper—16 Rheams	002 00 11
To 2 oxen and one cow killed for the family	020 00 00
To profits of stocke and crop the first yeare of his marriage with Mrs. Glover, not yet ac- counted for, abating for Servants wages and diet	015 00 00
	<hr/>
	1447 09 09

To a silver tankard in kind.

To all Mr. Glover's bookes unsold, to be delivered  
according to Cattologue.

To a house at Hingham of Panteryes, the value  
to be made good

Mr. Henry Dunster creditor	£. s. d.
Imp <sup>r</sup> . By lands in Sudbury bounds purchased by the said Dunster, called the farms now in the occupation of Wilson, found in kind to belong to the Plantiffe	
By the diet, apparell and education of Roger and Jn <sup>r</sup> Glover two yeares two m <sup>o</sup> . after their mother's mariage with the said Dunster till her death at £20.	086 06 09
By disburse <sup>m</sup> for the maintenance of Mrs. Glover for diet and apparrell in sickness and health two yeares and two months, after her marriage with Mr. Dunster, until her death, with a mayd to attend her at £80 pr. annum	065 00 00
By a bill for physicke paid Mr. Ayres	015 00 00
By funerall charges expended for Mrs. Glover	010 00 00
By disbursements for the diet and app <sup>l</sup> of Mrs. Eliz <sup>a</sup> Glover 7 m <sup>o</sup> . with her marriage feast,* being married to Mr. Adam Winthrop	080 00 00
By diet and apparrell for Mrs. Sarah and Mrs. Priscilla Glover, during their mother's life, being two yeares 2 m <sup>o</sup> . a peece at £16 pr. annum	089 06 08
By diet and expenses of Mr. Richard Harris two yeares and two monthes, it being due from the estate to him for the interest of £250, of his in the estate at £30 pr. annum	043 03 04
By maintenance of the children after the death of their mother, viz.	
By Jn <sup>o</sup> Glover's liberall education for diet, apparell and schooleing mostly at the Colledge for seven yeares and two months at £20 pr. an <sup>m</sup> .	143 03 04

\* The three Miss Glovers (not Mrs.) viz. Elizabeth, and Sarah and Priscilla Glover mentioned in the next article of charge, were the three daughters of Mr. Jesse, or Josse, Glover deceased. Priscilla married John Appleton, who also commenced in 1655, an action against Dunster for 100l. left to his wife by her father, and detained by Dunster, which sum Appleton recovered.



By diet, apparrell of Mrs. Sarah Glover five years at sixteen pounds pr. annum	080 00 00
By so much recovered out of the estate by Mr. Appleton, for his wife Mrs. Priscilla Glover, her maintenance after her mother's death, and before marriage with him	088 00 00
By so much paid for extraordinary expences by Mr. Jn <sup>o</sup> . Glover, as by note of particulars	006 15 00
By charges disbursed concerning nine arbitra- tions, and p <sup>d</sup> for writeings to scriven <sup>r</sup> &c. £2 in all	007 00 00
* By debts paid by Mr. Dunster which were due from the estate, in Mr. Josse Glover's life time	334 12 00
By debts made by Mrs. Glover in the time of her widowhood, paid by Mr. Dunster clerely proved	183 15 09
By losses and damages befalling the estate at Sudbury, paid for fencing on John Glover's farme at Sudbury	034 19 03
By expences, rates and suites concerning lands at Caribrg <sup>o</sup> .	045 19 04
By disbursemt <sup>t</sup> for reparations of the house at Cambridge in Mrs. Glover's life	016 04 00
By repaires of the said house after her death	016 01 04
By cattle added to the estate, viz <sup>t</sup> . three cowes, one calf, 2 oxen at	031 16 11
By rates paid to the meeting house	002 00 06
	<hr/>
	1309 03 07
By so much paid to Mr. Harris for redeeming a tankard, and a porringer of silver, paid him in part of his debt	005 18 00
	<hr/>
	1315 01 07

* To Mr. Harris	0250 00 00
To Mr. Turner	0076 12 00
To Cotton Slacke	0008 00 00
	<hr/>
	0334 12 00

By account of some debts contracted by Mrs. Glover in her widowhood, w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Dunster alleadgeth he hath payd; not allowed at present for want of cleare proof vizt.

By Mr. King of Lex.	06 12 04
By so much to Mr. Morecroft	25 00 00
By so much to Skidmore Smith	08 00 00
By so much to Mr. Harris	12 19 00
By so much pd. Major Bourne	05 00 00
	<hr/>
	57 11 04
By so much p <sup>d</sup> . to Capt. Kaine being a debt due before marriage as appears by bill	0015 00 00
	<hr/>
	1330 01 07

Mr. Bellingham declared his dissent from this account and departed out of Court before the Court's determination and judgment. was drawne up.

[*Midd. Records. Vol. I. p. 87, &c.*]

[*h*] Page 232.

PARTICULAR circumstances respecting the first printed book in this country may be interesting to some; I therefore mention the following.

It had been customary to sing a prose translation of the Psalms; and, for this purpose, the psalms were marked for singing in lines to suit the tunes. To accommodate common metre tunes, two syllables in every other line were printed in black letter, which were to be omitted when tunes of this metre were sung. The minister or the deacon, who read the psalm line by line as it was sung, usually announced that the syllables in black, were, or were not, to be omitted.

This practice may, in some measure, account for the singular version of the Psalms used by our forefathers. It was their aim in this version to keep as near the original Hebrew as possible, and they did not even allow themselves any poetic license to favor the rhyme. Ainsworth had long been celebrated as a musician. He had arranged the Psalms in a

manner to favor the singing of them, and had composed tunes for that purpose. His psalms and tunes were brought to this country by our ancestors, and were used by them until the synod published a version of the Psalms in conformity to their apprehension of the original; in several churches, however, Ainsworth's Psalms were preferred to this version, and were continued in use for many years. An edition of Psalms, intitled, *Psalterium Americanum*, in which lines of eight syllables were marked out, as before mentioned, by a || for singing, was printed in Boston as late as 1717.

The synod's version of the Psalms was called in Newengland for many years, *The Bay Psalm Book*. But afterwards it was more generally designated, *The New England Psalm Book*. Early jealousies and controversies existed between the synod and the church in Salem; and these, for a long time, prevented this church from adopting the Bay Psalm Book according to the recommendation of that reverend body. This version was not, in fact, used in Salem church, till 1667, as appears from the following vote, extracted from the records of said church, viz.

"The pastor having formerly propounded and given reason for the use of *the Bay Psalm Book* in regard of the difficulty of the tunes, and that we could not sing them so well as formerly, and that there was a singularity in our using Ainsworth's tunes; but especially because we had not the liberty of singing all the Scripture Psalms according to 3 Coloss. 16. He did now again propound the same, and after several brethren had spoken thereto, at last, a unanimous consent with respect to the last reason mentioned, that the Bay Psalms should be used together with Ainsworth's to supply the defects of it."

[i] Page 234.

THE author of "Wonder Working Providence," page 205, gives the following account of this edition of the laws. "This year [1646] the General Court appointed a Committee of diverse persons to draw up a Body of Laws for the well ordering this little Commonwealth; and to the end that they

might be most agreeable with the rule of Scripture, in every County there was appointed two Magistrates, two Ministers, and two able persons from among the people, who having provided such a competent number as was meet, together with the former that were enacted newly amended, they presented them to the General Court, where they were again perused and amended; and then another Committee chosen to bring them into form, and present them to the Court again, who the year following passed an act of confirmation upon them, and so committed them to the press, and in the year 1648, they were printed, and now are to be seen of all men, to the end that none may plead ignorance, and that all who intend to transport themselves hither may know that this is no place of licentious liberty, nor will this people suffer any to trample down this vineyard of the Lord, but with diligent execution will cut off from the city of the Lord, the wicked deers, and if any man can shew wherein any of them derogate from the word of God, very willingly will they accept thereof, and amend their imperfections (the Lord assisting) but let not any ill affected persons find fault with them, because they suit not with their own humour, or because they meddle with matters of religion, for it is no wrong to any man, that a people who have spent their estates, many of them, and ventured their lives for to keep faith and a pure conscience, to use all means that the word of God allows for maintenance and continuance of the same, especially they have taken up a desolate wilderness to be their habitation, and not deluded any by keeping their profession in huggermug, but print and proclaim to all the way and course they intend, God willing, to walk in. If any will yet notwithstanding seek to jostle them out of their own right, let them not wonder if they meet with all the opposition a people put to their greatest straits can make, as in all their undertaking their chiefest aim hath been to promote the ordinances of Christ, so also in contriving their Laws, Liberties and Privileges, they have not been wanting, which hath caused many to malign their civil government, and more especially for punishing any by a law, that walk contrary to the rule of the gospel which they profess, but to them it seems

unreasonable, and savours too much of hypocrisie, that any people should pray unto the Lord for the speedy accomplishment of his word in the overthrow of Antichrist, and in the mean time become a patron to sinful opinions and damnable errors that oppose the truths of Christ, admit it be but in the bare permission of them."

[k] Page 255.

THE New Testament was translated into the Indian language by the rev. John Eliot, then pastor of the church in Roxbury. Mr. Eliot was called *the Apostle of the Indians*, and he truly was so. He also translated the Old Testament into their language, and gave them a version of the Psalms. They were all completed at the press in 1663, and were bound together. The rev. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, mentions that mr. Elliot wrote the whole of this great work with one pen; if so, we may presume that his pen was not made of a goose quill, but of metal.\* After mr. Eliot had acquired the Indian language, he taught English to the Indians, and formed an English Grammar. He went among them and preached the gospel, instituted schools, and formed churches.

[l] Page 255.

THE colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and Newhaven,† in 1643, entered into articles of confederation for their mutual safety and support. Each colony was annually to choose two commissioners, who were to meet yearly and alternately in the several colonies. These commissioners had the power to manage all concerns, in which the colonies were generally interested; comprising those of war as well as peace, and each colony retained the direction of its own internal polity. The commissioners were chosen by the

\* I have been informed that Edward Gibbon, the celebrated author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, wrote the twelve volumes of which that work consists with one pen; which he presented to the beautiful dutchess of Devonshire, and it was by her preserved in a silver shrine.

† Newhaven was at that time a distinct colony from Connecticut.

general court, or assembly of the respective colonies, and were called the Commissioners of the United Colonies; to this office, men of the most respectable talents were elected, and, not unfrequently, the governors of the colonies.

By the agency of Massachusetts, a society had been formed in London, for propagating the gospel among the Indians in Newengland. Some time after the confederation of the colonies took place, the society in England for propagating the gospel was incorporated by act of parliament; by which act, the commissioners of the United Colonies were appointed the agents of the society, to manage its concerns, and to dispose of the property which might be forwarded to America, in such manner as might promote, in the most useful degree, the design of the institution. In time, the funds of the Corporation\* enabled them to send missionaries among the Indians, to instruct them in the Christian faith, and to build a number of small meeting houses, in which the Christianized Indians might assemble for public worship. An addition was made to the college at the expense of the corporation, to make room for the education of Indian youth. Several small books were written, and others translated into the Indian language; and, eventually, the design was conceived of translating the whole of the Holy Scriptures into Indian, and to print the translation. For this great undertaking the corporation supplied the means, and the commissioners of the United Colonies attended to its execution.

Before the New Testament was finished at the press, the corporation in England was, at the restoration of king Charles II, for some reason, deprived of their charter; but after some time it was restored and confirmed by the king.† Before the

\* The society in England for propagating the gospel among the Indians was so called.

† After the charter was restored, the corporation sent over to the commissioners by their request, as a remittance toward printing the Bible, and in other ways promoting the propagation of the gospel, a quantity of pieces of eight, to be received here; which is taken notice of in the following manner in a letter from the corporation to the commissioners—"We have thought good in pursuance of the trust committed to us and for the Improvement of that

charter was restored, the New Testament was completed, and the commissioners here, and the late members of the corporation in England, judged it good policy to present to the king one of the first copies of this work; and to make it acceptable to his majesty, a dedication was written, printed and prefixed to the few copies of the Testament which were sent to England. This measure had the effect desired, and the king became interested in the restoration of the charter. The copy for the king and nineteen copies more were forwarded in sheets to the members of the late corporation in England, with a letter from the commissioners of the United Colonies, an extract from which as recorded, follows, viz.

"The New Testament is alreddy finished, and of all the old the five bookes of Moses; wee have heerwith sent you 20 peeeces [copies] of the New Testament which wee desire may bee thus disposed viz: that two of the speciall being uery well bound vp the one may bee presented to his Majestie in the first place, the other to the Lord Chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Doctor Reynolds Mr. Carrill Mr. Baxter and the two vischancellors of the Vniuersities whoe wee vnderstand have greatly Incurred the worke; the rest to bee disposed of as you shall see cause."

The dedication is recorded among the proceedings of the commissioners of the United Colonies, and is there prefaced in the following manner.

"Vpon the enformation of the Desolution of the Corporation, and intimation of hopes that his Majestie would [renew

little wee have to send you ouer 433 peeeces of eight, which cost vs one hundred pounds heer, hauing obtained this priuledge in our Charter that what wee shall send ouer shal be without any charge or custom pay'd for the same, and that the coyning thereof into your coyne, and according to your standard will make a considerable aduance for your supply," &c.

The commissioners, September 18, 1663, in answer to the corporation observe, "Your honores accepting our bill of five hundred pounds, and sending ouer a supply of an hundred pounds in peeeces of eight wee humbly acknowledge, and haue Imroued the said peeeces to the vttermost wee could, whereof by minting or otherwise is 117 lb. 0 s. 07 d. by which your honores may see what aduance there may be made to the stocke by sending of such peeeces."

[Records of the United Colonies.]

and] confirme the same, &c. The Commissioners thought meet to present his Majestie with the New Testament printed in the Indian language with these presents following, &c.

The dedication as printed in the few copies of the Testament sent to England, is in the following words.

*" To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

*" The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wish increase of all happiness, &c.*

*" Most Dread Sovereign,*

" If our weak apprehensions have not misled us, this Work will be no unacceptable Present to Your Majesty, as having a greater Interest therein, than we believe is generally understood: which (upon this Occasion) we conceive it our Duty to declare.

" The People of these four Colonies (Confederated for Mutual Defence, in the time of the late Distractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majesties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themselves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themselves at their own Charge in these remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Brethren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worship God, which our own Consciences informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty: As also that we might (if it so pleased God) be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel, the knowledg of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majesty, in some of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

" These honest and Pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodness of God and our Kings, been seconded with proportionable success: for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highness Royal Predecessors, we have been greatly encouraged by Your Majesties gracious expressions of Favour and Approbation signified, unto the *Address* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the rest do most



cordially Subscribe, though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majesties happy Restitution, after Your long suffering, which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation; which hath been so Illustrious that (to admiration) the animosities and different Perswasions of men have been so soon Composed, and so much cause of hope, that (unless the sins of the Nation prevent) a blessed Calm will succeed the late horrid Confusions of Church and State. And shall not we (*Dread Sovereign*) your Subjects of these Colonies, of the same Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches, (though perhaps not alike perswaded in some matters of Order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for us) promise and assure our selves of all just favour and indulgence from a Prince so happily and graciously endowed?

“ The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endeavours and Blessing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion, and with much affection attending such Preachers as are sent to teach them, many of their Children are instructed to Write and Reade, and some of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in University-learning: There are divers of them that can and do reade some parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been Translated into their own Language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater Work, *viz*: The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Translated by a painful Labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the Work accomplished in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament, which we here humbly present to Your Majesty, as the first fruits and accomplishment of the Pious Design of your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the Press, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Assistancce for the perfecting thereof.

"We may not conceal, that though this Work hath been begun and prosecuted by such Instruments as God hath raised up here, yet the chief Charge and Cost, which hath supported and carried it thus far, hath been from the Charity and Piety of divers of our well-affected Countrymen in *England*; who being sensible of our inability in that respect, and studious to promote so good a Work, contributed large Sums of Money, which were to be improved according to the Direction and Order of the then-prevailing Powers, which hath been faithfully and religiously attended both there and here, according to the pious intentions of the Benefactors. And we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a matter of so much Devotion and Piety, tending so much to the Honour of God, may suffer no disappointment through any Legal defect (without the fault of the Donors, or the poor *Indians*, who onely receive the benefit) but that your Majesty be graciously pleased to Establish and Confirm the same, being contrived and done (as we conceive) in the first year of your Majesties Reign, as this Book was begun and now finished in the first year of your Establishment; which doth not onely presage the happy success of your Highness Government, but will be a perpetual monument, that by your Majesties Favour the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, was first made known to the *Indians*: An Honour whereof (we are assured) your Majesty will not a little esteem.

"SIR, *The shines of Your Royal Favour upon these Undertakings, will make these tender Plants to flourish, notwithstanding any malevolent Aspect from those that bear evil will to this Sion, and render Your Majesty more Illustrious and Glorious to after Generations.*

"*The God of Heaven long preserve and bless Your Majesty with many happy Dayes, to his Glory, the good and comfort of his Church and People. Amen.*"

In 1663, when the whole Bible, and a version of the New-england Psalms, translated into the language of the aborigines of Newengland, were completed from the press, a copy, elegantly bound, was presented to the king with another address, or dedication. This address, and that presented to

his majesty with the New Testament, were printed together and prefixed to those complete copies of the whole work, which were sent to England as presents. Few of the copies which were circulated in this country contained those addresses. I recollect to have seen, many years since, a copy that contained them; that which I possess is without them, as are all others which I have lately examined. The rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, some time since, fortunately discovered in a barber's shop, a mutilated copy of the Indian Bible, which the barber was using for waste paper. In this copy the addresses to king Charles are entire. He transcribed the addresses, and afterward published them in Vol. 7, of the Collections of the Historical Society. I have extracted them from that volume, finding them exactly to agree with the copies on the Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in every thing but the spelling, which on the records is in a mode more obsolete and incorrect, but doubtless conformable to the originals, which we may well suppose were carefully corrected before they were printed and prefixed to the Bible.

The Second Address, or Dedication, is as follows.

*"To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

"The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wish all happiness, &c.

*"Most Dread Sovereign,*

"As our former Presentation of the New Testament was Graciously Accepted by Your Majesty; so with all Humble Thankfulness for that Royal Favour, and with the like hope, We are bold now to Present the *WHOLE BIBLE*, Translated into the Language of the Natives of this Country, by *A Painful Labourer in that Work*, and now *Printed and Finished*, by means of the Pious Beneſicence of Your Majesties Subjects in *England*: which also by Your Special Favour hath been Continued and Confirmed to the intended Use and Advancement of so Great and Good a Work, as is the *Propagation of the Gospel to these poor Barbarians* in this (Ere-while) Unknown World.

“Translations of Holy Scripture, *The Word of the King of Kings*, have ever been deemed not unworthy of the most Princely Dedications: Examples whereof are extant in diverse Languages. But Your Majesty is the First that hath Received one in this Language, or from this *American World*, or from any Parts so Remote from *Europe* as these are, for ought that ever we heard of.

“Publications also of these Sacred Writings to the Sons of Men (who here, and here onely, have the Mysteries of their Eternal Salvation revealed to them by the God of Heaven) is a Work that the Greatest Princes have Honoured themselves by. But to Publish and Communicate the same to a Lost People, as remote from Knowledge and Civility, much more from Christianity, as they were from all Knowing, Civil and Christian Nations; a People without Law, without Letters, without Riches, or Means to procure any such thing; a People that *sate as deep in Darkness, and in the shadow of Death*, as (we think) any since the Creation: This puts a Lustre upon it that is Superlative; and to have given Royal Patronage and Countenance to such a Publication, or to the Means thereof, will stand among the Marks of Lasting Honour in the eyes of all that are Considerate, even unto After-Generations.

“And though there be in this Western World many Colonies of other European Nations, yet we humbly conceive, no Prince hath had a Return of such a Work as this; which may be some Token of the Success of Your Majesties Plantation of *New-England*, Undertaken and Settled under the Encouragement and Security of Grants from Your Royal Father and Grandfather, of Famous Memory, and Cherished with late Gracious Aspects from Your Majesty. Though indeed, the present Poverty of these Plantations could not have Accomplished this Work, had not the forementioned Bounty of *England* lent Relief; Nor could that have Continued to stand us in stead, without the Influence of Your Royal Favour and Authority, whereby the *Corporation* there, *For Propagating the Gospel among these Natives*, hath been Established and Encouraged (whose Labour of Love, Care, and Faithfulness in that Trust, must ever be remembered with Honour.) Yea,

when private persons, for their private Ends, have of late sought Advantages to deprive the said Corporation of Half the Possessions that had been, by Liberal Contributions, obtained for so Religious Ends; We understand, That by an Honourable and Righteous Decision in Your Majesties Court of Chancery, their Hopes have been defeated, and the Thing Settled where it was and is. For which great Favour, and Illustrious Fruit of Your Majesties Government, we cannot but return our most Humble Thanks in this Publick Manner: And, as the Result, of the joynt Endeavours of Your Majesties Subjects there and here, acting under Your Royal Influence, We Present You with this Work, which upon sundry accounts is to be called *Yours*.

“ The Southern Colonies of the *Spanish Nation* have sent home from this *American Continent*, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and End of their Discoveries and Transplantations: That (we confess) is a scarce Commodity in this Colder Climate. But (suitable to the Ends of our Undertaking) we Present this, and other Concomitant Fruits of our poor Endeavors to Plant and Propagate the Gospel here; which, upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of men are more worth than the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed, in the Counsels of All-Disposing Providence, was an higher intended End) of *Columbus* his Adventure. And though by his Brother's being hindred from a seasonable Application, your Famous Predecessour and Ancestor, King *Henry* the Seventh, missed of being sole Owner of that first Discovery, and of the Riches thereof; yet, if the Honour of first Discovering the True and Saving Knowledge of the Gospel unto the poor *Americans*, and of Erecting the Kingdome of *JESUS CHRIST* among them, be Reserved for, and do Redound unto your Majesty, and the English Nation, After-ages will not reckon this Inferiour to the other. Religion is the End and Glory of Mankind: and as it was the Professed End of this Plantation; so we desire ever to keep it in our Eye as our main design (both as to ourselves, and the Natives about us) and that our Products may be answerable thereunto. Give us therefore leave (*Dread Sovereign*) yet

again humbly to Beg the Continuance of your Royal Favour, and of the Influences thereof, upon this poor Plantation, *The United Colonies of NEW-ENGLAND*, for the Securing and Establishment of our Civil Priviledges, and Religious Liberties hitherto Enjoyed; and, upon this Good Work of Propagating Religion to these Natives, that the Supports and Encouragements thereof from *England* may be still countenanced and Confirmed. May this Nursling still suck the Breast of Kings, and be fostered by your Majesty, as it hath been by your Royal Predecessors, unto the Preservation of its main Concernments; It shall thrive and prosper to the Glory of God, and the Honour of your Majesty: Neither will it be any loss or grief unto our Lord the King, to have the Blessing of the Poor to come upon Him, and that from these Ends of the Earth.

*"The God by whom Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Justice, Bless Your Majesty, and Establish your Throne in Righteousness, in Mercy, and in Truth, to the Glory of His Name, the Good of His People, and to Your own Comfort and Rejoycing, not in this onely, but in another World."*

Specimen of the Language of the Indians of Newengland, taken from the first edition of the rev. mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible. Printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1661.

*The LORD'S PRAYER. Mat. vi, 9, &c.*

Nooshun kesukqut, qut-tianatamunach koowesuonk. Peyaumooutch kukketassoo-tamoonk, kuttentamoonk ne n nach ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamaiinean yeuyeu kesukod. Kah ah-quontamaiinean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamounnonog. Ahque sagkompagunaiinean en qutchhuao-

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory forever. Amen.

onganit, webe pohquohwus-  
sinnean wutch matchitut.  
Newutche kutahtaun ketas-  
sootamonk, kah menuhkesu-  
onk, kah sohsumoonk mich-  
eme. Amen.

Some writers have mentioned that the second edition of the Bible in the Indian language was published after the death of the translator; and, that it was revised and corrected by the rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. Others observe, that to the second edition an Indian Grammar was added by mr. Cotton. They must have been misinformed, as appears by the statement of mr. Eliot. In a letter dated Roxbury, Nov. 4, 1680, to the hon. Robert Boyle, president of the corporation for propagating the gospel in Newengland, mr. Eliot mentions, "We are now at the 19th chap. of the Acts; and when we have impressed the New Testament, our commissioners approve of my preparing and impressing also the old." Nov. 27, 1683, mr. Eliot in another letter to the same person, writes, "The work [second edition of the Bible, which had then been more than three years in the press] goeth on now with more comfort, though we have had many impediments, &c. They [the Indians] have still fragments of their old Bibles [first edition] which they make constant use of." Aug. 29, 1686, mr. Eliot informs the hon. Robert Boyle, "the Bible is come forth; many hundreds bound up, and disposed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour." And in another letter of July, 1688, he requests that 10 l. may be given to the rev. John Cotton, "who has helped him much in the *second* edition of the Bible."\* It appears, as has been elsewhere observed, that the second edition was six years in the press. Mr. Eliot died two years after this edition was published; according to Mather,† in 1690, aged 86. The Newengland Version of the Psalms was printed *with* the Bible; but I cannot find that the *Indian Grammar*

\* See the letters at large, His. Col. Vol. 3. p. 177. et seq.

† Magnalia.—Life of Eliot.

was published with either of the editions. It accompanied some copies of the *Psalter*; i. e. they were occasionally bound together in one volume small octavo.

[*m*] Page 257.

THE following is given as a specimen of the Newengland version of the *Psalms*; first, as they were originally printed; and, secondly, as they appeared after being revised and corrected by president Dunster and mr. Lyon. The first psalm of each edition is selected for the purpose.

[No. I.—*By Eliot and others.*]

## THE PSALMES

*In Metre*

### PSALME I

**O** Blessed man, that in th'advice  
of wicked doeth not walk:  
nor stand in sinner's way, nor sit  
in chayre of scornfull folk.

2 But in the law of Iehovah,  
is his longing delight:  
and in his law doth meditate,  
by day and eke by night.

3 And he shall be like to a tree  
planted by water-rivers:  
that in his season yeilds his fruit,  
and his leafe never withers.

4 And all he doth, shall prosper well,  
the wicked are not so:  
but they are like vnto the chaffe,  
which winde drives to and fro.

5 Therefore shall not ungodly men,  
rise to stand in the doome,  
nor shall the sinners with the just,  
in their assemblie come.

6 For of the righteous men, the Lord  
acknowledgeth the way:  
but the way of vngodly men,  
shall vtterly decay.



[No. II.—*Corrected by Dunster and Lyon.*]

THE  
BOOK of PSALMS.  
PSAL. I.

**O** Blessed man that walks not in  
th'advice of wicked men  
Nor standeth in the sinners way  
nor scorners seat sits in.  
2 But he upon Jehovah's law  
doth set his whole delight:  
And in his law doth meditate  
Both in the day and night.  
3 He shall be like a planted tree  
by water brooks, which shall  
In his due season yield his fruit.  
whose leaf shall never fall;  
And all he doth shall prosper well,  
4 The wicked are not so:  
But they are like unto the chaff.  
which wind drived to and fro.  
5 Therefore shall no ungodly men  
in judgement stand upright.  
Nor in th'assembly of the just  
shall stand the sinfull wight.  
6 For of y<sup>e</sup> righteous men, y<sup>e</sup> LORD  
acknowledgeth the way:  
Whereas the way of wicked men  
shall utterly decay.

[n] Page 281.

AS no newspapers, or other periodical works were printed in this country till 1704, seventy five years after Boston began to be settled, it is difficult to ascertain facts respecting persons in private life who died previously to the commencement of such publications; and, as it was not usual to publish characters of the dead who had not been in some degree eminent in

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church or state till within the last fifty years, it is remarkable that we should meet with any thing respecting the private life of a printer in Boston, from an English writer who flourished more than a century past; but it is more so, that the character of the wife of a printer in Boston should be found in a British publication of a remote period. Every thing respecting our first printers, or their families, will, in some degree, be interesting to our brethren of the type at the present day; especially, of a printer's wife who was selected, by an English author, to draw from real life "*the Picture of the best of Wives.*" I will, therefore, carefully copy this picture from John Dunton's original;\* it will give the reader an idea of the standing of Green and his wife in society; a glance of their family and its character, &c. and cannot, I think, fail of being read with pleasure by the wives and daughters of modern printers.

"The person whose character I am going to give, is Mrs. Green, a printer's wife, in Boston. A Wife is the next Change that a *Virgin* can lawfully make, and draws many other Relations after it: Which *Mrs. Green* was sensible of, For I have heard her say, That when she married Mr. *Green*, she espoused his Obligations also! and where-ever her Husband, either by *Tyes of Nature*, or *Squeezing of Wax*, ow'd either Money or Love, she esteem'd her self to be no less a Debtor. She knew her *Marriage* was an *Adoption* into his family, and therefore paid to every Branch of it, what their respective stations requir'd. She is sensible that the Duty of her place has several Aspects; First, As it relates to her Husband's Person, and next to his Relations, and thirdly to his Fortune. *As to his Person*, she well enough knew that the great Duty of a Wife is Love: Love was the reason that she marry'd him, for she knew where Love is wanting, 'tis but the Carcase of a Marriage; it was her study therefore, to preserve this Flame of

\* Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 139. Dunton arrived at Boston in March, 1686; he was a bookseller of extensive trade in London. He brought with him to Boston, a quantity of books for sale; remained there some months, and visited the governor, the principal magistrates, and all the clergy, &c. in and near that town.

Love, that like the Vestal Fire, it might never go out; and therefore she took care to guard it from all those things that might Extinguish it. Mrs. Green knew very well how fatal Jealousie had been to many; and therefore as she took care never to harbour it in her own Breast, so she was nicely careful never to give her Husband the least umbrage for it; she knew, shou'd she give way to Jealousie, she shou'd not only lose her Ease, but run the Hazard of parting also with somewhat of her Innocence; for Jealousie is very apt to muster up the Forces of our irascible part to abet its quarrel. \* Another Debt that Mrs. Green was sensible she ow'd, and was careful to pay to her Husband, was *Fidelity*: She knew that as she had espous'd his Interest, so she ought to be true to 'em, *keep all his Secrets*, inform him of his Dangers, and in a mild and gentle manner admonish him of his Faults. And this she knew, (how ill soever many take it) is one of the most *genuine Acts of Faithfulness*; and to be wanting in it wou'd be a Failure in her Duty; And she was sensible that if she did not do it, she shou'd be unfaithful to herself, as well knowing *nothing* does so much secure the Happiness of a Wife, as the *Virtue and Piety* of her Husband. But *Matrimonial Fidelity*, has a special Relation to the Marriage Bed, and in this Mrs. Green was so severely scrupulous, that she wou'd never suffer any light Expressions, or wanton Discourse in her Company, and this was so remarkable in her, that there being an invitation of several Persons to a Gentleman's House in *Boston*, and some that were invited, resolving to be very merry; one of the Company made this an Objection, that Mrs. Green *wou'd be there*, which *wou'd spoil their Mirth*: To which another wild Spark in the Company reply'd, *Tis but speaking two or three words of B—y*, and she'll be gone presently. Another thing that was very remarkable in Mrs. Green, was her *Obedience* to her Husband; to whose will she was so exactly observant, that he cou'd not be more ready to *Command*, than she was to obey; and when some of his Commands seem'd not to be kind, she would obey 'em, and wisely dissemble the Unkindness of them; as knowing, where Men have not wholly put off humanity, there is a native compassion to a meek sufferer. She

was also extremely tender of her Husband's Reputation; setting his Worth in the clearest Light, putting his Infirmities (for where's the Man who lives without 'em) in the Shade. And as she was tender of his Reputation, so she was also in another respect more particularly relating to herself: For knowing that the *mis-behaviour* of the *Wife* reflects upon the Husband, she took care to abstain even from all appearance of evil, and resolved to be (what *Cesar* desired of his *Wife*) not only free from Fault, but from all suspicion of it. But *Mrs. Green* was not only a *Loving*, a *Faithful*, and an *Obedient Wife*, but an *Industrious Wife* too; managing that part of his Business which he had deputed to her, with so much *Application* and *Dexterity*, as if she had never come into the House; and yet so managed her House, as if she had never gone into the Ware-house.—The Emperor *Augustus* himself, scarce wore any thing, but what was the Manufacture of his *Wife*, his *Sister*, his *Daughter*, or his *Nieces*; shou'd our gay *English Ladies*, those *Lilies* of our *Fields*, which neither sow nor spin, nor gather into *Barns*, be exempted from furnishing others, and only left to Cloath themselves, 'tis to be doubted they wou'd reverse Our Saviour's Parallel of *Solomon's Glories*, and no *Beggar in all his Rags*, wou'd be arrayed like one of these.—But *Mrs. Green* followed the Example of *Solomon's Vertuous Wife*, who riseth while it is yet Night, giving Meat to her Household, and a Portion to her Maidens.—And as she is a good *Wife* to her Husband, so she is also a good Mother to her Children, whom she brings up with that Sweetness and Facility as is admirable; not keeping them at too great a distance, (as some do) thereby discouraging their good parts; nor by an Over-Fondness, (a fault most Mothers are guilty of) betraying 'em into a thousand Inconveniencies, which oftentimes proves fatal to 'em. In brief, she takes care of their Education, and whatever else belongs to 'em, so that *Mr. Green* enjoys the comfort of his Children, without knowing any thing of the trouble of them.—Nor is she less a good Mistress than a good Mother; Treating her Servants with that *Love* and *Gentleness*, as if she were their Mother, taking care both of their Souls and Bodies, and not letting them want any thing

necessary for either.—I one day told her, That *I believ'd she was an extraordinary Wife*, but *Mr. Green was so good a Man she could not be well otherwise*. To which she answered, that she had so good a Husband was her Mercy; but had her Husband been as bad a Man as any in the World, her *Duty wou'd have been the same*, and so she hop'd her *Practice should have been too*—Which as it is a great Truth, it wants to be more known and Practic'd."

[o] Page 284.

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN began the printing of The Boston News-Letter, in Newbury street, in a small wooden building, to which another room was annexed some years after, for the accommodation of his son. This building was burnt down in January, 1734; it was previously occupied as a printing house both by young Green and John Draper, who did business independently of each other. Another house of like dimensions was built on the same spot by John Draper, the successor of the elder B. Green. This building was occupied as a printing house, until the British troops evacuated Boston in 1776. At that place began and ended the printing of The Boston News-Letter. Part of the building is now standing, back of No. 56, Newbury street. That house was built and occupied by Richard, the son and successor of John Draper.

[h] Page 286.

THE following is the account of the fire in Boston on the 2d of October, 1711, taken from the News Letter of October 8, 1711. "*Boston*. On Tuesday the second of October, about 8 o' Clock in the Evening, a fire broke out in an old Tenement within a back Yard in Cornhill, near to the First Meeting-House, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish Woman, by using Fire near to a parcel of Ocum, Chips, and other combustible Rubbish, which soon raised a great Flame, and being a time of great drought, and the Buildings very dry, the Flames took hold of the Neighbouring Houses, which were

high and contiguous in that part, notwithstanding all application and diligence to extinguish and prevent the spreading thereof by throwing of Water, and blowing up of Houses.—The Fire made its progress throughout *Cornhill* on both sides of the Street, and on both sides of the upper parts of King and Queen-Street; The Town House and the Meeting-House, with many fair Buildings were Consumed, and several persons kill'd and burn'd."

[9] Page 311.

IN the Life of Dr. Franklin, written by himself, little attention seems to have been paid to dates, particularly in narrating events which took place during his minority. He informs us, that he was born in Boston, but does not mention the month nor the year; he, however, observes,\* that his brother returned from England in 1717, with a press and types; and, that his father determined to make him a printer, and was anxious that he should be fixed with his brother. He also observes, that he himself held back for some time, but suffered himself to be persuaded, and signed his indentures. By the manner in which he mentions these circumstances, we may suppose that they took place within a short period, and as soon as his brother began business, which was within a few weeks after he returned from London. The doctor mentions that when he signed his indentures, he was only *twelve* years of age; this was in 1717. The New-England Courant was not published till August, 1721; at this time Benjamin Franklin must have been in his seventeenth year. The first Courant published by Benjamin Franklin, after his brother was ordered to print it no longer, is No. 80, dated February 11, 1723, of course Benjamin must then have been advanced in his eighteenth year. I have seen a file of the Courant from the time it began to be published in the name of Benjamin Franklin to the middle of the year 1726,† the whole of which was pub-

\* In the London 12mo. edit. of 1793, p. 29.

† This file is in the Historical Library at Boston.

ished in the name of Benjamin Franklin. The doctor does not mention how long the paper was published in his name; he only observes, it was for "some months." From the doctor's manner of relating this part of his history, we may conclude that he did not leave his brother short of one year after the *Courant* was printed in his, Benjamin's, name; and, if so, he must have been nearly nineteen years of age; but, if he remained with his brother till the year 1726, he would then have been twenty one years old: Yet the doctor mentions, page 53, after he left his brother, "he found himself at New-york, nearly three hundred miles from his home, at the age only of *seventeen* years." It is evident from the doctor's account of himself after he left his brother, that he did not remain with him so long as the *Courant* was published in the name of Benjamin Franklin, for he gives an account of his return to Boston, remaining there some time, his going again to Philadelphia, working with Keimer, and afterward making a voyage to London, where he was near two years a journeyman, and returning back to America, and again arriving in Philadelphia in October, 1726. It is difficult to reconcile all these events with the few dates which the doctor has mentioned. But I leave them with those who are inclined to make further investigation.

END OF VOL. I.







